A

DISQUISITION

Touching the

SIBYLLS

And the

Sibylline VVritings.

IN WHICH

Their Number, Antiquity, and by what Spirit they were Inſpired, are ſuccinctly diſcuſſed.

The Objections made by *Opſopæus*, *Iſaac Caſaubon*, *David Blondel*, and others, are examined; as alſo the Authority of thoſe Writings aſſerted.

Which may ſerve as an Appendix to the foregoing Learned Diſcourſe touching the Truth and Certainty of Chriſtian Religion.

[John Twysden]

Quoniam difficilis eſt inventu veritas, undique nobis eſt veſtiganda.
S. Baſil. in Procœmio Lib. de Sp. S.

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The PREFACE: Together with the occasion of Writing.

SIR,

I *Have, to my no little ſatisfaction and delight, peruſed your accurate Tractate concerning the Certainty and Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtian Religion; As well againſt the Atheiſts of this Age, who believe no God at all; As the Scepticks and Conſiderers of our time, who before they think themſelves bound to believe any thing, will firſt contemplate, and by the model of their own fallacious, and erring reaſon judge*

judge of, and accordingly embrace all Christian Truths that are propounded, and recommended either to their Faith or Practice. Not that I would be thought to blame the use of Reason in the examination of Divine Truths, so as it be still as a Director, and Tutor, not an absolute King, and Governour, in what is either above or any way past its reach to comprehend. Against both these you have directed this short Treatise, and in it insisted on the only right way whereby Gainsayers may be convinced, Atheists and Unbelievers converted; That is by Arrows fetch'd out of their own Quiver; Arguments drawn from the mouths of their own Writers, which they dare not, nay cannot with any shew of Reason deny. This you have happily

happily done in this ſhort Book, and drawn together into one Scheme not only what hath been forced out of the mouths of the Heathens, but what the ancient Chriſtians, Juſtin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, *and* St Auguſtine, *as the later,* Ludovicus Vives, Morney du Pleſſis, *with the moſt Learned* Hugo Grotius, *have gathered together upon this Subject. And though I muſt acknowledge, that I think it improper for a Lay-man to buſie himſelf too much in the abſtruſe and knotty points of Divinity, fit only for Caſuiſts and School-men to wade through: Yet ſurely the ſtudy of the Hiſtorical and Practical parts thereof is not only commendable in, but the duty*

of

of every Christian, so far to look into as his time, and abilities will permit: For certainly, every person whatsoever is bound to be able in some measure to give an account of his Faith, and Practice: Nay I heartily wish more of our Learned Nobility, and Gentry would employ some part of their time, and excellent parts upon Subjects of the like nature, by which Learning would be advanced, the Countrey they live in receive benefit, and their own Memory, for ever honoured.

But I shall let this pass: Yet because you have had just occasion to insist upon the Authority of the Sibylline Books, whose Writings I find questioned by the Learned Pens of Opsopæus, Isaac Casaubon, David Blundel, *and others,*

I have thought fit to offer to your consideration my thoughts upon that Subject, and shall endeavour to vindicate them, at least so much as concerns Christians, from the unjust exceptions urged against them; leaving it then to your farther judgment to make use of all, or any part of what shall be written, as your self shall see occasion.

CHAP. I.

That there were Sibylls; whence their Name; their Number, and the Time of their Living examined.

THat there were certain *Fœminæ Fatidicæ*, Women that foretold future Events, I shall not go about to prove: the Records of all History making it manifest. *Pausanias* tells you, speaking of *Delphos*. That one *Daphne* was appointed by the Earth her self the President of the Oracles in that place. And a little after intimates, That the gift of Oracles belonged only to women according to the sence of those that recorded events. Neither shall I spend much pains to examine from whence they had their Name; whether, as *Lactantius*, *Baronius*, and others, from Σίος which signifies Θέος in the Æolick Dialect, and βούλη or βύλη which signifies Counsel, as if they were Counsellers of God: Which I should not so well

Δάφνην ἐπ' αὐτῷ τετάχθαι πρόμαντιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς. Pausanias in Phocicis, pag. 320. lin. 29. Edit. Francos. an. 1583.

Οὐ μὲν τοι τά γε ἥκοντα ἐς μνήμην ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ ἐς δὲ γυναικῶν ἀνήκει μαντείαν μόνων. pag. 321. l. 6. in Phocicis.

Lactant. li. 1. de fals. Relig. p. 31. Edit. Hackii 1660. Montac. excer. 4. p. 126. in analect.

well like, whilſt it remains queſtionable by what Spirit they were inſpired; and that Phraſe, ſo far as I remember, not uſed to any other except to him whoſe name was Wonderful Counſeller, the Mighty God. Our Induſtrious and Learned Countrey-man Mr *William Howell* in his *Inſtitution Hiſtorical* (a piece well worth the peruſal of every man) ſeems to derive them from the genitive caſe of Ζεύς, calling them ſuch to whom the Counſel of *Jupiter* was imparted: Or whether the word *Sibylla* were not the proper name of the firſt, or Princeſs of them, as *Euſtathius* (the learned Biſhop, and Chriſtian) in his Notes upon *Homer* would have it; or laſtly, as *Suidas*, who ſaith it is a meer Latine word, ſignifying a Prophetess; any of which the Reader may make choice of, as it ſhall moſt agree with his own judgment.

Howell, p. 171.

Hom. Iliad. Pa. β. pag. 351 Edit. Rom. Ρωμαικὴ λέξις ἐρμηνευομένη προφῆτις.

But how many in number they were, in what ages of the world they lived, and how inſpired, will admit of a larger debate.

Cornelius Tacitus ſpeaking of them, and their Verſes, hath theſe words, *Una ſeu plures fuere*, leaving it doubtful whether there were one or more. *Martianus Capella* reckons only two, *Erophile* the Trojan daughter of *Marmeſus*, which he thinks to be the ſame with *Phrygia*, and *Cumæa*; and *Symmachia* born at *Erithre*, who likewiſe gave out Oracles at *Cumes*; and ſaith particularly, they

Tac. an. lib. 6. pag. 149. Edit. Antw. 1627.

Mart. Capel. in nuptiis Philolog. lib. 2. Sibylla, vel Erithrea quæque Cumana eſt, vel Phrygia: Quas non decem, ut aſſerunt, ſed duas fuiſſe non neſcis, id eſt, Erophilam Trojanam Marmeſi filiam, &

they were not ten, as was affirmed, but only two, *Erophila* and *Symmachia*. *Pliny* speaks of the statues of three seen at *Rome* near the pleading Pulpits, one of which *Sextus Pacuvius Taurus* restored, being Ædile of the common people; the other two *Marcus Messala*. These *Solinus* tells you, *cap.* 7. *Polyhistor.* were *Delphica*, *Erithrea*, and *Cumana*. With him agrees the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, in his Comedy of Birds. There were three Sibylls, of which one, as her Verses tell you, was the Sister of *Apollo*, the second *Erithrea*, the third *Sardiana*. *Ælianus* tells you of four, *Erithrea*, *Samia*, *Ægyptia*, and *Sardiana*; to whom (saith he) others have added six, so that in all they are ten, amongst which *Cumæa*, and *Judæa* are reckoned. *Lactantius* out of *Varro*, with whom agree *Isidore*, *Suidas*, *Antimachus*, and most others count ten in this order. 1. The Persian. 2. The Lybian. 3. The Delphick. 4. The Cumæan. 5. The Erithrean. 6. The Samian. 7. *Cumana*. 8. The Hellespontick. 9. The Prygian. 10. The Tiburtine.

Symmachiam Hippotensis filiam; quæ Erithrea progenita Cumis quoque est vaticinata.

Equidem & Sibyllæ statuas juxta rostra esse non miror, tres sint licèt: Una quam Sextus Pacuvius Taurus ædilis plebis restituit; duæ quas Marcus Messala. Plin. nat. hist. lib. 34. cap. 5.

Σιβύλλαι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο ὧν ἡ μὲν ἔστιν ὡς διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως φησὶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀδελφή. δευτέρα δὲ Ἐρυθραία, τρίτη δὲ ἡ Σαρδιανή. Schol. Aristoph. in avibus.

Σιβύλλαι τέσσαρες ἡ Ἐρυθραία, ἡ Σαμία, ἡ Αἰγυπτία, ἡ Σαρδιανή, οἱ δὲ φάσι καὶ ἕτεραι ἕξ, ὡς εἶναι τὰς πάσας δέκα, ὧν εἶναι τὴν Κυμαίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

Lact. pag. 33. Isid. l. 8. cap. 8. Suidas in verbo Antim. in Præfat. ad Sibyl. Orac. p. 144. Sixt. Sen Bibliot. pag. 198. Edit. Lugd.

Onuphrius addes more, as you may see in his Book *de Sibyllis*, put out before the Ora-

cles, in the *Pariſ. Edit.* 1599. In his account of them I obſerve this difference; he accounts the *Sibylla Delphica* in the firſt place, and *Perſica* in the eighth, I think erroneouſly; for certainly ſhe was much ancienter then *Cumana*, if her name was *Amalthea*, as I ſhall ſhew anon.

The age of the world in which they lived ſeverally, is uncertain, but undoubtedly the firſt of them very ancient, and ſundry of them before the Trojan War. *Onuphrius* tells you that *Sibylla Delphica* lived long before thoſe times, and quotes *Bocchus*, or *Boethus* for it, that ſhe was born at *Delphos*, that *Homer* took ſome of his Verſes from her, which our Learned Doctor *Simpſon* in his *Chron. Cathol.* takes to be thoſe, among others, by him remembred upon the year of the world 2829. But *Pauſanias* goes much higher, and tells you, ſpeaking of *Delphos*, that it was the place where Oracles were delivered from the beginning of the earth. They ſay, from the beginning of the earth there was a place of Oracles, and that *Daphne* was by the earth her ſelf appointed Preſident there——That prophecying was in common between *Neptune* and the Earth; that the Earth gave Oracles with her own mouth: That *Neptune* had for his Miniſter for that office one *Dircon*. And not many lines after hath theſe words.

Onup. de Sibyll. pag. 7.

Simp. Chro. Cat. A.M. 2829.

Φασὶ δὲ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα τῆς γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ Δάφνην ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεταχθαι τέμματιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς—— Ποσειδῶνα δὲ ἐν κοινῷ, καὶ Γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτῶν, &c. Pauſan. in Phocicis, p. 320. 2d Ed. Frank. 1583.

I

I have heard that some Shepherds happened upon the place where the Oracle was, and became inspired by the vapour of the earth it self, and prophesied by the power of *Apollo*. Which thing might very well occasion the building of a Temple to *Apollo* in that place wherein Oracles had formerly been given. Nay I find farther that the same *Pausanias* tells you of one *Herophile* that used to give Oracles where you find this. There is a stone rising up above the rest: Upon this the Delphians say that one *Erophile* used to stand and deliver Oracles; and that she first obtained the name of a Sibyll: But I find her rather in the like manner more ancient, whom the Grecians call the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*, who was the daughter of *Neptune*, and that she first chanted out Oracles of any women, and by those of *Libya* was called a Sibyll. *Herophile* was not so ancient as she was, yet was she also before the Trojan Wars.——

Ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρες ποιμαίνοντες ἐπιτύχοιεν τῷ μαντείῳ καὶ ἐνθεοί τε ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀτμοῦ καὶ ἐμαντεύσαντο ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος. p. 320. 38. Pho.

Πέτρα δὲ ἔστιν ἀνίσχουσα ὑπὲρ ταύτης· Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ Δελφοὶ στᾶσαν φασὶν ἆσαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς ὄνομα Ἡροφίλην, Σιβύλλαν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν τὴν πρότερον γενομένην: Ταύτην ταῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως οὖσαν ἀρχαίαν εὕρισκον, ἣν θυγατέρα Ἕλληνες Διὸς καὶ Λαμίας τῆς Ποσειδῶνος φασὶν εἶναι, καὶ χρησμούς τε αὐτὴν γυναικῶν πρώτην ἆσαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων Σιβύλλαν λέγουσιν ὀνομασθῆναι. ἡ δὲ Ἡροφίλη νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης, φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονυῖα καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ— Pausa. Phoc. p. 327. 18.

When I consider and compare with these testimonies what the most Learned *Bochartus* saith in his *Geographia Sacra*, That *Noah* was *Saturn*, *Cham Jupiter Hammon*, *Japhet*

 Neptune,

Boch p. 1. *Noam esse Saturnum tam multa docent, ut vix sit dubitandi locus.* See How. Inst. Hist. p. 4.

Neptune, and *Sem Pluto*; in whom you may farther see the concinness of the Story, and his reasons at large; as likewise that *Tubal Cain* was *Vulcan*. *Boch. pag.* 432. by a small change in the pronuntiation, their sounds being almost the same. It might well stand together, that in that time, when there was a promiscuous use of all beds, that *Cham* might marry his brother *Japhets* daughter; that is, according to *Pausanias*, *Jupiter* married the daughter of *Neptune*, who, as you heatd before, was a Diviner, and all this before the flood; so that the story of one skill'd in that Art being shut up in the Ark with *Noah*, is not only probable but true; for we are certain, *Noahs* three Sons with their wives were shut up there. *Josephus*, a Jewish Writer, and certainly no friend to Prophesies not owned by those of his Nation, tells you of one that spake of the building the Tower of *Babel*, and the confusion of tongues also, but without any mark of distrust put upon it, which probably he would have done, had he found any cause not to believe the truth of their Writings. *Lilius Giraldus* tells you, That Sibylla *Persica*, called *Sambethe*, the same with *Chaldaica* and *Hebræa*, lived before the flood, and was shut up in the Ark with *Noah*. I find her also called * *Sambethe Noe*, which might as well be the daughter of *Noah*, as to derive her name from *Noe*, a Town near the Red Sea, as *Beirlin. in Verb.* and our industrious Countryman Mr. *Howel* in his *Instit.*

Josep. li. 1. cap. 5. Lil. Giral. de Poet. Hist. pa. 79.

* Lil. Giral. de Poet. Hist. pa. 79 Dial. 2. Suidas in verb. Collius l. 3. p. 2. p. 192. De animabus Paganorum.

ſtit. Hiſtorical, incline, *pag.* 171. *Georg. Cedrenus* tells you of one in *Solomons* time, it may be the ſame *Pauſan pag.* 327. calls *Saba*, and to have ſuceeeded *Demo*, ſaid to be the daughter of *Beroſus* and *Erimanthe*. The Queen of *Sheba*, who was alſo by the Grecians called a Sibyll, *&c.* *Onuphrius* in his Book *de Sibyllis*, will tell you of others, that lived in other ages of the world, and aſſuredly long before that *Amalthea*, who is ſaid to have offered to ſale nine books of Oracles to *Tarquinius Priſcus*, others to *Superbus*; which ſtory, becauſe I ſhall make ſome uſe of it, I ſhall deliver at large, as I have literally rendred it out of *Dionyſius Harlicarnaſſæus*, who lived about twenty ſix years before the birth of our Saviour, as *Helvicus* hath it. The ſtory in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* is thus, Another very admirable accident in the time of the Reign of *Tarquinius*, whether given by the good will of the Gods or Dæmons, is related to have fallen out in the City of *Rome*, which not only for a ſmall time, but in all ages, and often hath ſaved it from great evils. A certain woman, not of that Country, came to the King, deſirous to ſell nine books filled with Sibylline Oracles; but the King not thinking fit to buy them at the price ſhe asked, ſhewent from his preſence and burnt three

Καὶ βασιλίσσα Σαβᾶ ἥτις ἐλέγετο Σιβύλλα περὶ ἑλλήσιν, &c. Glycas. Annal. p. 256.

Pauſan. in Phocic. p. 337.

Onup. de Sibyl.

Helv. Chron. in annot. in cat. viror. illuſtrium.

Λέγεται δέ τε καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου βασιλείας πάνυ θαυμαστὸν ἐντύχημα τῇ Ρομαίων ὑπάρξαι πόλει, εἴτε Θεῶν, εἴτε Δαιμόνων εὐνοίᾳ δωρηθεν, &c. Lib. 4. fol. 259.

of them, and ſoon after returning, asked the ſame price for thoſe that remained; but he thinking her ſome dotard, and to be derided, who asked for a fewer in number that price ſhe could not obtain for them all, ſhe again went away, and burnt half of them that were left; and bringing again the three that remained, demanded ſtill the ſame quantity of gold: The King then wondring at this deliberate counſel in the woman, ſent to the Augurs, and diſcourſing the matter with them, inquired what was fit to be done; they by certain ſigns having learnt that he had refuſed a bleſſing ſent from God, and deeming it a great misfortune that he had not bought all the books, commanded the gold to be told out to her, and to receive the books that remained; but ſhe giving the books, with a charge to keep them carefully, vaniſhed out of their ſight. *Tarquin* made choice of two of the Citizens of good rank; and joyning to them two other publique Miniſters, gave unto them the cuſtody of them; one of which was called *Marcus Atylius*, who becauſe it ſeemed he had done ſomething injuriouſly as to his truſt, and being accuſed as a Parricide by one of the publick Miniſters, was ſewen into a ſack of leather, and thrown into the Sea. But after the expulſion of the Kings, the City taking upon themſelves the overſight of the Oracles, conſtituted for their keepers the moſt conſiderable men of their City, diſcharging them from all other em-

Βίλδμα.

Ὡς πατροκτόνου.

employments both military, and civil, and appointed others of the people, without whom they permitted not theſe men to take a view of the Oracles. In ſhort, let me tell you, The Romans kept no holy or ſacred poſſeſſion whatſoever, with that care they did the Sibylline Oracles: They made uſe of them according to the Vote of the Senate, when any ſedition fell out in the City, or great misfortune in war, or that wonders, or great and portentous Apparitsons were ſeen amongſt them, which things often fell out. Theſe books of Oracles remained until the time of the ſo called *Marſike* War, being laid under ground in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and kept in a Coffer, or Box of ſtone, by the *Decemvirs*. But after the 173. Olympiade, the Temple being burnt, whether on ſet purpoſe, as ſome think, or by chance, they were, together with other things conſecrated to the Gods, deſtroyed by the fire. Thoſe which now are; were fetch'd from ſundry places; ſome out of the Cities of *Italy*, ſome out of *Erithre* in *Aſia*, Meſſengers being ſent by the Decree of the Senate to tranſcribe them; ſome were fetchd from other Cities, tranſcribed by private hands, in which there are ſome things ſuppoſititious, or inſerted among the Sibylline Writings; but they are *diſcovered* by thoſe verſes which are called Acroſticks. Thus far he. Others call this ſtrange womans name *Amalthea* of *Cumes*. But from this ſtory thus told, with which

Ἐλεύσχονται.

which *Varro Lactantius* and others agree, give me leave to make these Observations.

CHAP. II.

Observations, and by what Spirit they spake is discussed.

First, That in the judgment of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* 'twas uncertain by what Spirit they were inspired; for he relates as doubtful whether those books were given by God or the Divel. St *Ambrose* speaking of the spirit of *Python*, hath these words; *Hic est qui per Sibyllam locutus est, &c.* St *Augustine Cont. Manich.* hath these words; Moreover, touching Sibyll or Sibylls, *Orpheus*, and I know not who, *Homer*, and whatsoever other Presagers, Divines, Wise men, or Philosophers of the Gentiles, who are reported to have told or foretold true things of the Son of God, or God the Father, 'tis indeed of some use to overthrow the vanity of the Gentiles, not to make us embrace their Authority; since we make it appear that we worship

Amb. Com. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. cap. 11.

Sibylla porro vel Sibyllæ, & Orpheus & nescio quis, Homerus, & si qui alii Vates, vel Theologi, vel Sapientes, vel Philosophi Gentium, de Filio Dei, aut de Patre Deo vera prædixisse, seu dixisse perhibentur, valet quidem aliquid ad illorum vanitatem revincendam, non tamen ad istorum authoritatem amplectendam, cum illum Deum colere ostendimus quem nec illi tacere potuerunt, qui suos congentiles populos Idola & Dæmonia colenda partim docere au-

ſhip that God of whom they could not hold their peace, who partly taught their Country-men that Idols, and Dæmons were to be worſhipped, partly durſt not hinder them in it. Perhaps he may mean this rather of the other Soothſayers and Diviners that were common in thoſe times; not of the Sibylls, at leaſt all of them; for if our Learned Prelate *Richard Mountacute*, ſometimes L. Biſhop of *Norwich*, quote him right, he ſpeaks more favourably of *Sibylla Eriſhrea*, ſaying, She had nothing among all her Verſes which either belonged to the worſhipping of falſe or feigned gods. *Iſaac Caſaubon*, a man of great learning, and various reading, ſpeaking of the uſe made of them by the Romans, hath theſe words; There was never any thing produced (he means by the Romans) out of thoſe Books, by which the errour of the Gentiles, and that mad worſhip of Dæmons was not confirmed or augmented by ſome new acceſſion of impiety. I believe what he ſaith to be true; for he that is converſant in any meaſure with the Romane ſtory, will find with what ſuperſtition and impious ſacrifices they conſulted thoſe books, and commonly in ſuch caſes wherein the good only of their own Country, and the worſhip of their feigned Gods might be promoted; in-

ſi ſunt, partim prohibere auſi non ſunt.

Mount. Analect p. 159.

Nihil habuit in toto carmine quod ad Deorum falſorum ſeu fictorum cultum pertineat.

Nihil enim unquam ex illis libris prolatum quo gentium error, & ille inſanus Dæmonum cultus non confirmaretur, aut etiam nova acceſſione impietatis non augeretur. Caſ. p. 81. ed Gen. exc. in Bar.

insomuch that whatever else was in these books that concerned the worship of the true God, being by them not understood, was wholly neglected; and therefore, in my judgment, *Casaubon* deserves not the censure which I find he hath received in this particular, as if he had contradicted what St *Augustine* before him had delivered. *Blundelius*, in his Book *De les Sibylles*, calls them frequently *Rhapsodists*, stale meat, like *Nostredamus*, &c. And truly, it is justly to be doubted, whether those persons were indued with the Spirit of God, in whose writings, among many truths, much that countenanced impiety was mixed. We know God sometimes forced the truth out of the mouths of false Prophets, *Balaam*, *Caiaphas*, and others; neither is it very material, to examine by what spirit they were inspired, whether, as *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Baronius*, and others, that they were θεοφορούμενοι, filled with Gods Spirit, or spake only by his permission, as the Oracles did; so as the truth of what they foretold is for the generality made good; neither can I think it unreasonable to believe, with Cardinal *Baronius*, That the Counsel of God was such, that long before the coming of Christ some sign of so great a blessing should be made known to the Jews and Gentiles; to them by the Prophets, to these by their *Vates*, chiefly *Hidaspes*, and the Sibylls.

See Sixt. Sen. bib p.108. Edit. Lugd. Mont. excer. 4. p. 186. in Anal. & alii.

Consilium Dei fuisse ut longe ante Christi adventum tantæ rei sacramentum Judæis atque Gentibus innotesceret, illis quidem per Prophetas, hisce vero per suos Vates, Hisdaspem præcipue, & Sibyllas. Mount. in Anal. p. 127.

Secondly,

Secondly, That this person that came to *Tarquinius* could not be of *Cumes* in *Italy*; for she is said to be a stranger, not of that Nation; and that any of any other Nation should at that time inhabit in *Cumes* in *Italy*, and there deliver Oracles, and the Roman State not know of it, seems very improbable. *Observ.* 2. ἐκ ὄπιχωρία

Thirdly, It is manifest there were more genuine Books of that nature at that time; for we see she burnt six of nine filled with the same matter, or two of three, as others say, but all agree the greatest number was burnt, and so probably enough those afterward sought out in the time of the Consulate of *Scribonius* and *Octavius* in the 176 *Olymp.* about 15 years after the Capitol was burnt, which happened in the time of the War between the Marsi and their Confederates, called the Marsick, or Sociale War, might contain much of what was in the Books burnt by *Amalthea*, and which never were before in the Roman hands, and so perished not with the Capitol; and consequently that they were not necessarily suppositious, or spurious, because *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* saith so, who being a Heathen, judged of the truth, or falshood of them, by their agreement with what he had learned was in the former Books; by which, according to the best examination the State could make, what they received from *Erithre*, and other Towns of *Asia* and *Italy*, were corrected. *Observ.* 3. Onup. de Sibyl. pag. 47. out of Fenest. Helv. Chron. pag. 81. Ed. Oxon.

Fourthly,

Observ. 4. Fourthly, It is evident, the original Writings of what the Romans received were still kept in those places from whence they had them; for it is expresly said, they caused them to be transcribed, which might be partly the reason of the multitude of Copies that were after extant of Books of that nature: Nor can I believe, that in 15 years no man should have the curiosity to seek out such rarities, till *Scribonius*, and *Octavius* motioned it in the Senate, though between that time and the Reign of *Augustus*, when the Prophetick Books were burnt, many more years, near 100, had elapsed.

Observ. 5. Fifthly, That it doth no way appear, that those Books sold by this strange woman were the product of her own brain, but might very well be the Writings of some other; nay, if there be any truth in that part of her story, that she vanished away, she must needs be an Angel or Devil, and so that opinion no way impugned which shall affirm, that what she sold to *Tarquinius* was the work of some other much ancienter then her self, perhaps hers that went by the name of *Erithrea*, and lived at *Cumes* in *Asia*, and *Italy* also, because the Romans first sent to *Erithre*, undoubtedly from that reason, that they believ'd those books they had lost were likeliest to be found there; and beside, I find this *Amalthea* counted the *Sibylla Cumana*, not *Cumæa*, as *Onuphrius*, *Suidas*, *Lactantius*, and others, have before taken notice of, though the similitude of their names made

Montac. in analect. pag. 150. Onup. de Sibyl. Lactan. p. 33.

made their persons sometimes confounded.

Sixthly, That the Acrosticks in the Sibylline Books were a means by which the true Writings were distinguished or discovered. *Observ.6.*

CHAP. III.

What Writings of the Sibylls were kept in the Capitol: The reading of others promiscuously not forbidden. Justin Martyr *so to be understood.*

YOu have heard before what care the Romans took to repair their loss, by getting in again what they could of the Sibylline Books: Amongst those they obtained, *Lactantius* will tell you, they strictly laid up only those of *Cumæa*. His words are these. The Verses of all the Sibylls are abroad, and possessed, except those of *Cumæa*, whose Books are secretly laid up by the Romans; nor is it lawful for any, except the *Quindecem viri*, to look into them.

Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina & feruntur & habentur præterquam Cumææ; cujus libri à Romanis occuluntur, nec eos ab ullo nisi à quindecem viris inspici fas est. Lact. de falf. Relig. lib.1. pag.35, 36.

The curiosity of men continually increasing from the time of the burning of the Capitol

pirol unto the review made by *Augustus*, which was 60 years, or upward, there were got into private hands above 2000 Copies of Books of that nature, which produced that Decree made by *Cæsar*, for the bringing them in to the Prætors hands; as *Suetonius* tells you. Whatsoever presaging or fate-telling Books either in Greek, or Latine, were commonly vented abroad, either under none, or Authors names of little account, having gathered together of them above two thousand, he caused to be burnt, retaining only the Sibylline Books; of these also he took what he liked to make choice of, and hid them in two gilded hutches under the foot of a pillar in the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*. In which relation 'tis observable, that the Sibylline Books were exempted from this Martyrdom; nay indeed none suffered but such as had no warrantable Author to secure them: What he liked in the Sibylline Books he laid up in the Temple; so we find here a new accession to those Books gathered together before by the Roman Embassadours sent abroad to that purpose: And I find farther, that after this, when *Caninius Gallus*, a *Quindecemvir*, would have done the like, he was reproved by *Tiberius Cæsar*, for deviating from the custome observed by the Romans, and put in mind

Quicquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latinique generis, nullis, vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgò ferebantur, supra duo millia contracta, undique cremavit, ac solos retinuit Sybillinos, hos quoque delectu habito, condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Suet. in vita Aug. pag. 152. Edit. Hackii. 1651.

mind what *Augustus Cæsar* had before done. But I confess, upon the best search I have been able to make, I cannot find any Law or publick Inhibition against the reading of such Books as were either not burnt, or not retained in the Capitol; neither indeed could there be; for what the Romans had being now but Transcripts, why might not any man have recourse to the Originals, as well as the Senate? and indeed how could *Tully* and *Virgil* make use of things out of their Books (which were never lookt into but upon weighty and great occasions) except they had received them from some other Copies; the curiosity of the Romans extending only unto those in the custody of the *Quindecemviri*, to which they only gave credit, and punished the divulging, not by any new Law, but by that of parricide, which they inflicted upon *Atilius* before mentioned. This is made more evident, as well by the Testimony of *Lactantius*, who tells you many of their Books were frequently had in his time, as by another, to wit, by *Dio Nicæus*, as I find it in *Xiphilinus*. In the time of *Tiberius* there went abroad a Prophesie said to be in the Sibylline Books, in these words; That after 900 years a civil dissention should embroil the Romans, and a Sibaritick madness. This *Tiberius* endeavoured to make appear to be false, though he were much troubled at it;

Tacit. Ann. lib. 6. p. 149. Edit. Antw.

See the Treatise p.

Harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina & feruntur & habentur, præterquam Cumeæ. Lactan. lib. 1. p. 35. & 36.

Τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαύτων Ρωμαίους ἔμφυλος ἐλεύσεσθαι ἁ Σιβαρῖτις τ' ἀφρόσυνα. Xiph. p. 230. 25. in Tiber.

and *Nero* after his time finding the peoples troubles not allayed, he told them those Verses were not to be found, but instead of them they used to recite this, Ἔσχατος Αἰνειάδων μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει. The last that should reign of the Family of *Æneas* should be the killer of his Mother: But in all this trouble, and endeavours to satisfie the people, I find no man questioned for reading, or divulging this matter, which undoubtedly would have been done had there been any general inhibition, or that the *Quindecemvirs* had been found faulty in their trust: Neither durst *Origen* have avowed the reading and owning them against *Celsus*, whence the Christians were called Sibyllists: Nor yet *Justin Martyr* himself, had there been a general Law upon pain of death not to read them: We cannot, must not believe Christians so prodigal of their lives, or the Heathens so merciful, not to have made use of it against them. The words of *Justin Martyr* are these, after he had upbraided them with their prohibition to read the Books of *Hidaspes*, the Sibylls, and Prophets, he addes: We do not only possess them without fear, but as you see, offer them to your view. Which words must necessarily be referred to what is before said; for it is notoriously known, that till *Stilico* burnt the Capitol the second time, about the Reign of *Honorius*, which was about 395 years after Christ,

See the Treatise, pag.

Ἀφόβως μὲν γὰρ ἃ μόνον ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν ὡς ὁρᾶτε εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν φέρομεν. In Apologet.

Christ, the Sibylline Books were kept with the same care; and undoubtedly all breach of the Law would have been severely punished, of which in truth there was none but that upon which *Atilius* was punished, which was that of a parricide in betraying his Countrey, and therefore could not extend to others, in whom no trust was reposed. But because I find in this particular variety of opinions, *Baronius* contending the inhibition concerned only the Christians, with whom agrees Bishop *Montacute in analect. p.*154, 155. *Isaac Casaubon*, and the Authour of the foregoing Treatise think the prohibition concerned all promiscuously; I shall forbear any determination in this thing.

CHAP. IV.

The Objections made by Isaac Casaubon *against their Writings are considered, and answered.*

HAving gone thus far, and laid down these things as preliminary to what I shall farther say, I come now to consider the most material Objections that have been hitherto offered against their Writings;

and in this Chapter insist chiefly upon those urged by *Isaac Casaubon* (as learned certainly as any adversary they have had) and not declined by others. But I desire first to inform the Reader, that I hold it no way incumbent on me to justifie all things in those Books, as they are now extant with us, to be free from all corruption; (what perhaps will be hard to maintain of any Book very ancient) but will believe it fully sufficient for the matter I have in hand, if I shall shew that those places insisted on by the Fathers in their Disputations against the Heathens have no marks of calumny that can be justly laid upon them, and therefore very adequate to that end for which they were produced by the Author of the foregoing Treatise.

Yet shall I farther shew *ex abundanti*, that the most improbable things are so far from being demonstratively false, that they may be true, notwithstanding those many Objections that *D. Blundel*, and others, have heaped together to weaken them, and through their sides wound those holy men, who for nigh 500 years made use of their Testimony against the Enemies of Christianity. I wish I could not guess at the reason of it, and why *D. Blundel* hath been so curious to rake into the ashes of those holy departed Saints that now rest in glory, and enumerate their mistakes, in which I dare boldly affirm he is oftner deceived then they! Nor can I believe any judicious Reader will be led away with that

that Paralogiſme in which he ſpends his whole ſecond Chapter, and much of his Book: The Fathers were deceived in other things, therefore in this. Some things are falſe in the Sibylline Writings, therefore nothing is true. Whereas he could not but ſee that the Argument lies as fair on the other ſide: The Fathers in many other things were not deceived, therefore not in this; eſpecially in a particular wherein for the ſpace of above 150 years (for it is ſo much, or neer it, from *Juſtin Martyr* to *Conſtantine*) they made it their buſineſs to examine the truth, whereas peradventure in ſome few other things through the fluency of their tongue, and exuberancy of Rhetorick, they might let fall that which makes us ſee they ſtill retained the frailties of men, and had not the memories of Angels. Nay *D. Blundel* himſelf, when it can any way be drawn to ſerve his turn, is not ſo hard hearted toward the ancient Writers, that he will not allow the moſt ſuſpected of them, *Hermas*, *Papias*, and others, a more candid and benigne ſuffrage, as 'tis well obſerved by the Learned *D. Hammond* in his defence of *Ignatius*.

See Blundel de Sibylles, cap. 2.

If the Reader will be pleaſed to pardon this ſhort digreſſion, I ſhall now come to anſwer the Objections. The firſt inſiſted upon by *Caſaubon*, is the clearneſs of them: His words are, (having before made uſe of thoſe Texts that call the Doctrine of Chriſtianity a Myſtery) Theſe and the like Teſtimonies

Hæc ſacræ Scripturæ teſtimonia, & his ſimilia, quæ ſtare poſſunt, ſi verum eſt, pleraque, & ea quidem præcipua doctrinæ Chriſtianæ myſteria, etiam ante Moſem gentibus fuiſſe propoſita. Caſaub. Exer. 1. ad appar. ann. Bar. fo. 67. Edit. Genev. 1655.

of the holy Scriptures, and the like, how can they ſtand together, if it be true that theſe, and the chief Myſteries of Chriſtian Doctrine, were before *Moſes* propounded to the Gentiles.

Though in anſwer to this I might tell you, that if ſome of the Sibylline Writings have that antiquity I have already touch'd, and ſhall have farther occaſion to ſpeak of; and that thoſe of them that are ſo, have thoſe clear revelations of the Myſteries of Chriſtianity, it was before it had pleaſed God to ſeparate the Jewiſh Nation as a peculiar people to himſelf, but that then all the world made but one Church, governed and inſtructed by the Precepts they had received from *Noah*; and ſo the ſame reaſon to propound thoſe Myſteries to them before *Moſes*, as there was after to the Jewiſh Nation alone: Yet I ſhall chuſe to give you my anſwer in the words of *Caſtalio* in an Epiſtle of his to *Marus Muſæus*, *Anno* 1546. as I find it related by *Simſon*, *in Diſquiſit. de Sibyllis.*

Sunt nonnulli, inquit, quibus hæc Oracula (Sibyllina) nimis aperta videantur, ideoque ficta putent ab aliquo Chriſtiano ad pelliciendos Gentiles, & ad Chriſtianis gratificandum.—— Qui autem nimis aperta putant faciunt arroganter, ſanè qui Deo vaticinandi modum

There are ſome (ſaith he) to whom theſe (Sibylline) Writings ſeem too open, and therefore think them feigned by ſome Chriſtian to allure the Gentiles, and gratifie the Chriſtians.——But they which think them ſo deal too arrogantly, who

who prescribe unto God in what manner he must prophesie, as if it were not free to him according to his good pleasure to foretell things to come clearly, obscurely, to the Gentiles, to the Jews; or as if some most cleer predictions were not extant in the Scriptures.——— Yet should we grant that the Sibylline Oracles are more clear, ought not the revelations to the Gentiles of Christ to be so, who were destitute both of *Moses* and the rest of the Jewish Discipline, which might to them have been as a light to lighten them to Christ, that so what was otherwise wanting might be recompensed to them by the perspicuity of the Oracles themselves? ———Neither ought we to take estimate of them from that light that now shines amongst us: For what is to us most notable who live after the things fulfilled, might to them to whom they were foretold as future be most obscure. If any man had feigned them, certainly he would on purpose have made them more dark, that they might have seemed to have been written before the thing accomplished, and have more resembled those of the Holy Scriptures. Thus far he.

præscribant, quasi non ei liberum sit aperte, obscurè, apud Gentiles, apud Judæos suo arbitratu prædicere, aut quasi non extent in sacris quoque literis prædictiones quædam clarissimæ.——Sed fateamur sanè Sibyllina Oracula esse clariora: Nonne quæ Gentilibus de Christo prædicta sunt clariora esse oportuit, quòd Mose, & cæteris disciplina carebant, quæ eis ad Christi lumen præluceret, ut quod hîc decrat id Oraculorum claritate compensaretur?——Quanquam non debemus has Oracula ex eâ quæ nunc est luce existimare: Nam quæ nobis post res gestas notissimæ sunt, ea cùm futura prædicerentur erant obscurissima. Si quis ea finxisset, profectò obscuriora de industria fecisset, ut antè rem gestam scripta, & his similia viderentur quæ sunt in sacris literis.

But I ask, Were they indeed so clear? What means *Lactantius* then, that tells you, They are confused and mingled so together, that though they were many, yet they seem the works of one body, and are so that every ones proper work cannot be assigned. And *Procopius* in his first book of the Gothick Wars saith, That they tell not all from the beginning, nor observe any harmony or order in their discourse; ——— and that for that reason 'tis impossible for any man whatsoever to understand them before the thing foretold is accomplished: To which may be added, that we are in all likelyhood beholding to those that gathered together and set in order what we now have, for their plainness, who have joyned to the same time and place things that seemed to them of like nature, which might at several times, and perhaps by several persons distant enough in time, be delivered. Furthermore, things as clear have not been understood. That of *Balaam*, quoted by the Author of the foregoing Treatise. That of *Isaiah*, *A Virgin shall conceive a Son, and his name shall be called* Immanuel; extreamly clear in the literal sence, and yet not understood by the Jews when foretold, nor believed, when fulfilled.

Et sunt singularum singuli libri, qui quia Sibyllæ nomine inscribuntur, unius esse creduntur, suntque confusi; nec discerni ac suum cuique assignari potest. Lact. lib. 1. fol. 36, 37. Ed. Hack. 1560.

——— Οὐκ ἅπαντα ἑξῆς τὰ πράγματα λέγει οὐδὲ ἁρμονίαν τινὰ ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. ——— Ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατον ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁτῳοῦν πρὸ τῆς ἔργῳ τῶν Σιβύλλης λόγων ξυνῆναι, &c. Proc. bel. Got. lib. 1.

filled. If the Sibyll names her Name, the Prophet names his, and leaves out hers, and both name the Town *Bethlehem*, though the Scripture indeed do it in another place. Mr. *Howel* tells you of an Oracle that said, A Temple dedicated to *Bacchus* should stand *donec Virgo peperit*, till a Virgin should have brought forth; upon which the Heathen called that Temple eternal, because they deemed it impossible for a Virgin to conceive; and the thing not understood, though true in the literal sence, and fulfilled at the preaching of our Saviour.

Howel Instit. Hist. p. 787.

A second Objection insisted on by *Isaac Casaubon*, is drawn from the practise of the Primitive times, who, as he tells us, were wont to esteem it as a great atchievement among themselves, if they could, by their own figments and officious lies help out the truth, and make the new Doctrine with more ease to be received hy the Gentiles; from which fountain he supposes have proceeded a great number of books under the Apostles, and other specious names, *&c.* I deny not but some spurious things have been anciently vented in the Church, as you may see in *Eusebius*, and others, to what end done I will not now dispute, which might ly obscurely, and appear some years, perhaps ages after, when the cheat could

Object. 2.

Postremo illud me vehementur movet; quòd videam primis Ecclesiæ temporibus quam plurimos extitisse, qui fácinus palmarium judicabant cœlestem veritatem figmentis suis ire adjutum: quo facilius nova illa doctrina a gentium sapientibus admitteretur: Officiosa hæc mendacia vocabant bono fine excogitata. Casaub. exer. 1. ad app. ann. Bar. p. 67. Ed. Gen.

could not so easily be discerned: but that the Fathers should in their disputations against the heathens insist upon what they knew was false money, and make themselves guilty by pious frauds and officious lies, of putting so great an abuse upon the world, is a thing so far from the piety and simplicity of that age, that I wish I could as easily wipe out with a spunge this injury to their persons, as I can honour the Memory of that Learned Divine from whose pen they have unadvisedly dropt. Nay, I think I may, with my Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, challenge any man to produce one example of Apostle or Apostolick man guilty of such a falshood: It became not Christian Piety to go about to deceive the world; and we find them upon all occasions ready to expose their persons to the fire, their necks to the Ax, rather than deny a truth, and therefore ought not to believe this of them, especially being supposed to have happened in that Age woen Miracles were not ceased, (as is well observed by the Author of the preceding Treatise) and so they could not be ignorant Christianity would be supported by better means than their pious frauds or officious lies.

Mont. Anale & Excer. 4. p. 130.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The ſecond and third Chapter of David Blundell *conſidered, and the Objections anſwered.*

IN this Chapter I ſhall chiefly examine the Objections made by *David Blundel* againſt the authority of the Sibylline Writings, in his ſecond and third Chapter. Part of which is ſpent (after a ſhort commendation of *Juſtin Martyr*) in enumerating his miſtakes, that from them he might lay ſome colourable ground that he was likewiſe overſeen in what he ſaid of the Sibylls: He ſpares not to tell you, That 'twil be hard to find in all antiquity a more notable miſtake than that of *Juſtin*, a perſon as worthy of commendation as any other hath been: and after the interpoſition of ſome few lines touching his learning and virtue, adds, That though theſe advantages have raiſed him above the ordinary rate of men, yet have not hindred him from permitting himſelf to be abuſed by liars. I ſhould have believed ſo much confidence would have produced ſo great

Il ſeroit malaiſe d' en trouver dans toute la ſuite des temps, un plus illuſtre que celuy du meſconte de S. Juſtin perſonage recommendable s'il en fait jamais;——Tous ces avantages ont pu le relever par deſſus le commun; mais ils ne l'ont pas empeſche de ſe laiſſer abuſer par de conceurs, &c. p. 3. & 4.

Reaſons,

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Reasons, that what he laid down was true, that no indifferent Reader ought to have any just cause to doubt of it; but I find he urges nothing, or very little, for the confirmation of what he saith, more than his own conjecture. The first mistake he alledgeth in the Father, is, That he takes the Statue of *Semo Sangus*, one of the idol Gods of the *Sabines*, to be that of *Simon Magus*, which he contends was erected at *Rome*; and that he doth this before the Heathens themselves, with so much confidence, that it is very clear he believed what he wrote to be very true: That it is not so, *David Blundell* offers no reason at all, nor refers himself to any other book, wherein he might before have proved it; so that for this we have only his conjecture, for ought appears to me: and we have *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus* agreeing with *Justin Martyr*, That he so far deceived the Romans, that *Claudius* erected a Statue for him. That *Nero* was exceedingly, among all other Vices, adicted to that of Conjuration, and Magick, Dr. *Simson* will tell you out of *Pliny*; and therefore not unlikely that *Simon Magus* might obtain high honours at *Rome*, till such time as pretending to fly, and being carried up into the air by the Divel, he was brought down headlong by the Prayers of St *Peter*, and St *Paul*, who were then at *Rome*, as you may find in the place before alledged.

Ἐπλάνησε τε ἔτω τὴν Ρωμαίων πόλιν, ὡς τε Κλαύδιον ἀνδριάντα αὐτῷ στῆσαι. Cyr. Catechesi sexta. Simson. Anno Christi, 67.

It

It is well observed by Mr. *Howel*, that the Ancients had in great veneration such persons as were founders of their Kingdoms, and would give them the Names of *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like, to whom in the blindness of those times, they gave oftentimes divine honours. *Lilius Giraldus* will informe you, such as these, a kind of Semi-gods, like the tutelary Saints now adays, St *George*, St *James*, St *Andrew*, and the like, were called *Semones*, whom they held not worthy of heaven, for their want of merit, nor would allow them to be earthly, for the reverence they bare their Memory, in respect of the favours received from them: such, I take it, were the ancient Δαίμονες Demons, or Heroes, and as Mr. *Mead* thinks, in his Apostacy of the latter times; the Διδασκαλίαι Δαιμονίων inveighed against by St *Paul*, was that doctrine of giving honour to Dæmons, or Semigods. That the Sabines had such a one called *Semo Sangus*, (whom some take to be *Hercules*) *Lactantius*, among others, who calls him *Sancus*, others *Xanthus*, others *Sancius*, will tell you. You may see in the same *Lilius Giraldus*, farther, that from him the word *Sancire* to enact, had its Original, from the agreement made between them and the Romans, after the rape of the Sabine women, which you may read of in *Florus*. That there was a Monument or Inscription of this Oath kept in the Temple of *Jupiter Pistius*, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* will inform us. That there was likewise

Howel Instit. Hist. fol. 91.

Lil. Giral. Synt. deor. p. 19.

Mead, Apostacy of the latter times.

Lil. Giral. Synt. p. 67.

Dion. Halicar. p. 113. l. 2.

Dion. Halicar. l. 4 p. 257. l. 7.

likewiſe an ancient Inſcription, *Sancto Sanco Sermoni Deo Fidio Sacrum*, the Annotator upon *Lactantius* will aſſure you out of *Fulvius Urſinus*, which in all probability was ſuperſcribed, and the form of the Oath mentioned before out of *Halicarnaſſæus*, underneath it: But that there ever was any Statue erected of him, kept at *Rome*, is more then I can any way diſcover; (as *Ciril* informs there was of *Simon Magus*) and much unlike, if any had been, that it ſhould continue ſo long as from the time of the war of the *Sabines*, till *Juſtin* the Martyr.

Lact. fol. 82.

The next is, concerning the remains of the Cells in *Pharos*, near *Alexandria*, where the 72 Tranſlators of the Hebrew Bible, by the appointment of *Ptolomey*, was performed. This Fiction, he tells us, St *Jerome* derides, who had been himſelf upon the place; and therefore *Juſtin* the Martyr (who was likewiſe an eye witneſs of what he writes) muſt be deceived. But why we are bound rather to believe St *Jerome*'s eyes than *Juſtin Martyr*'s, with whom *Irenæus* and many others agree, as *David Blundel* himſelf confeſſes, I ſee not; eſpecially ſince both may be true, there being ſo many years between him and St *Jerome*, that there might be no traſts of that in St *Jeromes* time, which was viſible enough in St *Juſtin*'s. You may ſee at large in Mr *Gregories Opuſcula*, the opinion of St *Jerome* diſproved; neither ſee I any reaſon to believe (nor doth *Juſtin Martyr* affirm it) any thing of

Greg. Opuſ. diſ. of the 30. inter. 19. pag.

of that miraculous agreement without alteration of any word, as ſome have feigned in their tranſlation: Notwithſtanding it ſhould be allowed that there were little Cloſets in which they made their Tranſlations apart, which were afterward compared, and ſhew'd the King. Yet will Mr. *Gregory* tell you, that the other miraculous way of the ſtory may be taken upon the greateſt truſt of Antiquity. But theſe hitherto have been but light velitations, or rather handſome inſinuations by *D. Blundel* to gain the favourable attention of his Readers; that, after he had thus weakened the authority of the Fathers in theſe light things, he might with more eaſe perſwade his Readers they were to blame in greater. We ſhall now in the next place come to conſider his more weighty Arguments, who hath brought together what I have ever found in any other Author to have been alledged againſt thoſe Writings of the Sibylls, with much improvement of his own. In the examination of them I ſhall not ſtrictly tye my ſelf to his order, but conſider them after my own method, that I may, as much as I can, avoid the repetition of the ſame things.

Greg. Opuſ. of the 70 Interp. Pag. 7.

His firſt and main Objection is drawn from the inconſiſtency and contradiction of the Oracles themſelves: For one of them vaunts her ſelf to be the daughter in Law of *Noah*, to have been ſhut up in the Ark, to have been of his blood, guilty of fornication, adultery, *&c.* nay,

Object. 1. Blondel, p. 5. &c. Oppoſa. in præ.

nay, if *Opſopæus* conjecture rightly, of inceſt with her Father, when as theſe Oracles, not extant but in Greek, which was not ſpoken till after the flood, manifeſtly diſcover the impoſture: Nay ſhe that pretends to have liv'd before the flood, by her own confeſſion lived 1500 years after. The places referred to are theſe that follow. Speaking before of the flood, ſhe expreſſes the great joy ſhe had to have eſcaped ſo eminent danger of death. The next place referred to is in the third Book, where after ſhe had told you ſhe had come out of *Babylon* in *Aſſyria*, that ſhe was to propheſie againſt *Greece*, and that they ſhould account her of another Countrey, to wit of *Erithre*, others the daughter of *Circe* and *Gnoſtus*, &c. She after the interpoſition of a few lines ſaith ſhe was of the bloud, and daughter in Law of *Noah*; and in the ſeventh Book, where the words are faulty, and very obſcure, gives colour to *Opſopæus* his conjecture of inceſt with her Father. The third, and laſt place is in the third Book, where ſhe tells you 'twas 1500 years ſince the beginning of the Græcian Monarchy; therefore that Author muſt live after that time.

—ὦ μέγα χάρμα
Ἧς ἔλαχον μετέπειτ' ὅτε
ἔκφυγον αἰσὺν ὄλεθρον
Πολλὰ κλυδωνιόεσσα, &c.
Ora. lib. 1. p. 183.

lib. 3. *p.* 283.

lib. 7. *p.* 360. *in fine.*

lib. 3. *p.* 260.

Anſw. Before I come to give a particular anſwer to each member of this Objection, I deſire it may be firſt remembred, what I have touch'd before in the fourth Chapter, that it is no way reaſonable to believe that we have every

every thing in that book now extant ſet down in that order, and time in which they were delivered by the true Authors, but many times confounded, and intermixed one with another; ſo that if it can be evidenced that ſome one of theſe Sibylls might have lived before the flood, it no way invalidates their authority, that ſome things may be put together by the compoſer, or gatherer of theſe Oracles as the works of one and the ſame perſon, which indeed were the predictions of perſons very different one from another both in age and time.

That there were predictions of the flood by many others beſide *Noah*, *Beroſus* will tell you; if we believe his authority, as in that I think we ſafely may; That many preached, propheſied, nay graved in ſtone the deſtruction that was to come upon the earth, though they were derided, and not believed. Neither ſeems it to me improbable, that many pious, and holy men lived about that time, though they were by God brought unto their reſt before this general deluge of water happened, to which *Noah* and his Family only ſurvived. The ſame *Beroſus* tells you, that the Chaldeans kept Records of many things before the flood; tells you of *Enos* a Town of Gyants; with him agrees *Martinius* the Jeſuite in his Hiſtory of *China* printed at *Amſterdam*, 1659. where he relates many

Beroſ. de tempor. ante diluv. lib. 1. p. 48. Edit. Antw. 1552. *Tum multi prædicabant & vaticinabantur, & lapidibus excidebant de eâ quæ ventura erat orbis perditione*, &c.

things out of the Records of that Kingdom before the flood; and truly, that our predeceſſors were never Maſters of ſome pieces of Antiquity, of which we have now no footſteps left, is to believe them leſs careful to enquire after knowledge then we are, or leſs curious to tranſmit it to poſterity; for how is it poſſible that *Noah* himſelf, and thoſe of his generation that ſucceeded him, ſhould either not tell, or their children not enquire what was done in the old world, and alſo leave ſome memorials of it to ſucceeding times, till the Græcians (whoſe Language quickly grew almoſt univerſal) having robb'd the Phenicians, and Chaldeans of their Learning, robb'd us alſo of a great part of that knowledge we might otherwiſe have been partakers of, by clouding it under Muthological tales and fictions of their own, by which means they eclipſed Learning, which they made ſhew to promote, out of their pride to make the world beholding to them as the firſt Inventors of all knowledge in it, and not letting us know out of what fountain they drew it. From this and another artifice frequent in very ancient times, of calling by the names of *Saturn*, *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, and the like, perſons whom for ſome deſert they had a mind to honour with thoſe appellations, came ſo great confuſion in ſtory: Where we ſhall find ſometime that attributed to a later perſon which was true of ſome Predeceſſor of his of the ſame name.

Something

Something to this purpose you may see in *Xenophon*, and *Bochartus*; neither were it hard to give many examples of it, were it proper in this place to do it.

Zenop. de æquivocis in principio.
Bochart. in præfat. ad lib. de Serm. Phœnicum

The use I shall make of it is, that from hence I may induce you to believe it very possible, that a Sibyl might be before the flood, and shut up with *Noah*; for if it be true, as *Bochartus* thinks, that *Vulcan*, and *Tubal Cain* were the same, *Lilius Giraldus* among others will tell you, that *Apollo* (who, as *Onuphrius* saith, taught *Sibylla Delphica* the art of Divination; and that she liv'd long before the Wars of *Troy*) was the Son of *Vulcan* or *Tubal Cain*; and so it might very well be that the Son of *Tubal Cain* might converse with a Daughter in Law of *Noah*, which might also live a good while after the Confusion of Tongues, especially since *Sem* is by some thought (I am sure might) to have lived in *Abraham*'s time, who was born 18 years before the death of *Noah*, as Dr. *Simpson* saith.

Sir Walt. Raw: lib. Sect. 6. cap. 4.
Bochar. cap. 12. pag. 422.
Lil. Gir. synt. Deor. p. 397. 32. pag. 214 39.
Onup. de Sibyl.
Simp. Chron. p. 19. Anno M. 1988.

But we need not go so high; for if *Noah* were *Saturn*, his three sons, *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Japhet*, were *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, as is proved in the second Chapter; as also out of *Pausanias*, that the ancientest Sibyll was the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamiah*, who was the daughter of *Neptune*, that is to say of *Cham*, by his Niece who was *Japhets* daughter; I see no reason why that art of Divination, which *Pausanias* tells you was in

the daughter, might not be known both to her mother as well as father, who we are sure were shut up in the Ark with *Noah*, especially since the same *Pausanias* tells you, that Oracles were delivered long before, as anciently as the earth it self, as you may see in the second Chapter of this Discourse. I shall farther out of the same Author shew, that Divination was common between *Neptune* (that is *Japhet*) and the earth; that before any Temple was made, the earth her self used to pronounce them: Nay the same *Pausanias* yet farther tells you of certain Verses mentioned by those of *Delos*, in which one of them names her self sometime *Herophile*, sometime the wife, sometime sister, sometime daughter of *Apollo*. Possibly these Hymnes were the same with those called *Eumolpia*, written by one *Musæus*, as you have it, *pag.* 320. of the same Author. Sometime you will find *Daphne* called the president of the Oracles, sometime *Phemonoe*, sometime of a tradition of a Temple built by *Vulcan*, and all this confessedly before the Trojan Wars, but no time when; which certainly was because by reason of its antiquity they could not: And I confess in the relation of *Pausanias* there is a little uncertainty, and obscurity; but I think I may with as much probability (upon what you have heard) affirm some of this

Δήλιοι δὲ καὶ ὕμνων μέμνηται τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα· καλεῖ δὲ οὐκ Ἡροφίλην μόνην ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γυνὴ γαμετὴ τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἄνθις θυγάτης φησὶν εἶναι, &c. Pausan. in Phocicis, pag. 327.

his sort of Diviners were before the flood, as *D. Blundel* can demonstrate the contrary; especially since the foisting in this particular could not serve for any other end then to make the whole book be rejected, which not conducing to the interest of any party, either Christian or Heathen (who both allowed them) cannot well be supposed. Nay if Sir *Walter Rawleigh* be not mistaken, who saith, that very learned men were of that opinion, the names of *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and the like, were in use from the very Creation; *Adam* being the first *Saturn*, *Cain* the first *Jupiter*, &c. *Rawl. l.1. c.6. Sect.4.* And since Grandchildren are oft called by the names of sons and daughters, no man can assuredly affirm that one of *Cains* posterity was not daughter in Law to *Noah*; so that although I allow that *D. Blundel* might have reason to suspect this place as spurious, yet all he saith amounts not to a demonstration that it is so; and therefore all the Books not to be rejected upon the only account of this place. The confession that she was guilty of the knowledge of strange beds, rather makes for, then against the truth of them; for it is like enough she was polluted with the sins of the old world, having lived in it; the confession that she was so, argues rather her repentance then anothers falsifying that place. That they are extant only in Greek, which at the flood was not spoken, may receive a double answer, either that they were made so by the Græci-

ans after they came into their hands; or that the Author, as she well might, lived both before, and after the Confusion of Tongues. The last part of this Objection is, that she, whoever she be, mentions 1500 years to have passed of the Græcian Monarchy, which could not be true, had she lived at the time of the flood.

In the answer to this Objection, I must needs remember what I find runs through his whole Book, and I shall repeat no more; that whatever he finds in these Oracles that cannot agree with her that calls her self the daughter in Law of *Noah*, are therefore untrue; as if there never had been but one Sibyl, the contrary to which is proved in the second Chapter; so that it might be true that there was one in the time of *Noah*, and yet this the prediction of another. But let us a little more narrowly look into his reason, and we shall find it no way consequent, that because the word there used is in a Tense that signifies the time past, therefore the thing it self must be also past at the time of the delivery thereof; whereas nothing is more frequent in Prophesies, and Visions, then to use the time present, or past, for what is to come. Now the truth of the thing is no more then this. The Author of those Verses, whoever she was, after a sharp reproof of the Græcians for their Idolatry, hath these words. That the Græcians had reigned fifteen hundred years,

χίλια δ' ἐτ' ἔτεα καὶ πίνδ' ἐκατοντάδες ἄλλαι

years, who first led men unto wickedness: And after tells them of the wrath of God, and that then upon the feeling of it they should begin to seek him: And lastly, speaks of the growth and flourishing of Christianity; in all which it will be evident many things are foretold which were not at that time past; and indeed they import no more then that 1500 years after the beginning of the Græcian Monarchy Christianity should flourish: Now whether this happened true in the event is impossible to judge, since Historians cannot agree when to begin the Græcian Monarchy; nor is it to be known what period in Christianity is pointed at by these Verses.

Ἐξ οὗ δὴ βασίλευσαν ὑπερφίαλοι βασιλῆες Ἑλλήνων, &c. lib. 3. p. 260.

Another Objection he insists upon not much unlike the former; to wit, that this (still the same *Sibylla*) that calls her self daughter in Law of *Noah*, is by *Justin* the Martyr called the daughter of *Berosus*, who wrote the Chaldean History. The words are these. You may easily learn in part the right way of worshipping God from the ancient *Sibylla*. This Sibyll they say came out of *Babylon*, being the daughter of *Berosus* that wrote the Chaldean History, *&c.* And soon after hath these words in the same page. Of this Sibyll *Plato* (among many other Writers of his time that mention her)

Object. 2.

Ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν ῥᾳδίως τὴν ὀρθὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ μέρους παρὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς Σιβύλλης μανθάνειν——ταύτην δὲ ἐκ μὲν Βαβυλῶνος ὡρμῆσθαι φασὶ Βηρώσσου τοῦ τὴν χαλδαικὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος θυγατέρα οὖσαν, &c. In Parænesi ad Gent. p. 30. Edit. Rob. Step.

Ταύτης δὲ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὡς χρησμῳδοῦ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων μέμνηνται

καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ πείθηται τῇ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῃ παλαιᾷ Σιβύλλῃ.

her) ſpeaks of in *Phædro*; nay whom himſelf afterward calls the moſt ancient Sibyll. I reply to this Teſtimony: Though the words are indeed ſo in the Father, yet it carries ſo great a wound in its own breaſt, that we may eaſily ſuſpect ſome foul play hath been uſed toward him, and this place corrupted; for how could *Plato* remember her that was daughter to *Beroſus* that writ the Chaldean Hiſtory, who dedicated his books to *Antiochus Soter* (as *D. Blundel* himſelf confeſſeth out of *Tatian*) when as *Plato* dyed in the year of the world 3656, and *Antiochus Soter*, who ſucceeded *Seleucus* his Father, and was the third King of *Syria* after the death of *Alexander*, began not his Reign till the year of the world 3724, in which year *Seleucus* dyed; ſo that there are 68 years between the death of *Plato*, and the firſt year of the Reign of *Antiochus*; therefore in the moſt modeſt account *Beroſus* muſt be above 100 years old when *Antiochus* came to the Crown, or elſe *Plato* could not mention his daughter as a Sibyll; for we cannot reaſonably believe ſhe was inſpired before twenty, or him married before the like age; ſo that at the death of *Plato* he muſt be 40 years old, and have lived to 108, and then have ſpirit, and quickneſs enough to write Hiſtory; except we will ſuppoſe he kept it by him during the whole time of *Alexander*, (who we know was always an encourager of Learning) and thoſe that

Armagh. ann. fol 198. and 344 of the Engliſh Edit.

that ſucceeded him to dedicate it to *Anticchus*, a man not at all in repute to be compared with *Alexander*, which is very improbable. This miſtake then muſt either be attributed to ſome inadvertency in the Father, or, which I rather think, ſome later Writer intending to explain the words, corrupted the ſence by foiſting in theſe words, τοῦ τὴν χαλδαικὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος, *the Writer of the Chaldæan Hiſtory*; the words running very clear without that addition. The cauſe of this miſtake I think proceeded from their not conſidering that there might be more then one *Beroſus*. Now *Pauſanias* tells you that ſhe that ſucceeded *Demo* was by the Jews called *Sabba*; that *Sabba* was the daughter of *Beroſus* and *Erimanthe* according to ſome; others that this *Sabba* was called *Sibylla Babylonica*; others *Ægyptiaca*: Much incertainty there is in what age to place her; probably it hath come from that miſtake in *Juſtin Martyr*, which I believe miſled *Onuphrius*, who makes the ſame perſon mentioned by *Juſtin Martyr* (whom he calls *Sambethe Noe*) to be the eighth in number, but by *Lactantius* and others is reckoned the firſt; in my opinion with more reaſon; for ſhe mentioned by *Juſtin* is called the firſt and very ancient Sibyll, and muſt certainly point at one more ancient then the age of *Alexander*. But whoever ſhe was, and when ever ſhe lived, whether in *Solomons* time, as you have it in the end of the ſecond Chapter out of *Cedrenus*,

Pauſan. p. 328. in Phocicis.

Collius de animabus Pagan. pars 2. lib. 3. pa. 190, 191.

nus, but denyed by *Collius*, or much ancienter, certainly she could not be daughter to that *Berosus* who writ the Chaldæan History, for the reasons before alledged: And of the same opinion I since find was *Montacute* Lord Bishop of *Norwich* in his Excercitations upon *Baronius*.

Montac. in analect. p. 153.

Object. 3.

A third Objection, is, That the name of *Adam* is, by the Author of the first book of the Sibylline works, derived from the greek word ἀδμὴ, as if it were a word of Greek extraction, and also denoted from the Hebrew the four Quarters of the World, ἀνατολὴ, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία, *East*, *West*, *North*, and *South*, whereas his Name in the Hebrew and Chaldean Language consists only of three letters.

D. Blund. p. 7. *Il est pense que l' imposteur qui a voulu se signaler par la feint d' une si grang antiquite s' est montre fort neut 1. en derivant Adam de ἀδμὴ comme si c' estoit un mot d' extraction Grecque.*

Orac. Sibyl. lib. 2. pag. 216.

Answ.

He that considers who it was (even God himself) that imposed the Name upon our first Father, and farther that the Name of Jew and Greek should divide the whole world, the Greek being a common name, comprehending all the Gentiles, as appears by the first and tenth of the *Romans*, with many other places. He (I say) that considers this, will not, I perswade my self, believe it strange that the same appellation might be significant in more Languages then one, though not then in being; that he that was not created a man only, but a King over all the Earth and the creatures thereon, should have a Name that reached over

S. Paul. Romans cap. 1. v. 16. cap. 10. v. 12.

over all the Quarters thereof, ſhews rather the providence of God, who by it would let us ſee, that not only Monarchical Government was the firſt, and therefore beſt, but by himſelf inſtated upon *Adam*, ſtamped and imprinted in his very name, in which the point under ד ſupplieth the third letter, which he pretends is wanting.

But what can be anſwered to *David Blundels* inadvertency, if after all this the book, as to that part of the objection which concerns the derivation of the name of *Adam* from ἅδης, warrant no ſuch thing, but quite contrary; the words are theſe; Having firſt told you of the encreaſing of mankind after that of their wars and wickedneſs, ſhe tells you, that God took them away by death; That *Hades* received them; That indeed they called it *Hades* from *Adam*, becauſe he having taſted of death went thither firſt; for which reaſon all men that are born of the earth are ſaid to go down to the houſes of *Hades*. What can be imagined more contrary than this to the affirmation of *David Blundel*; he tells you, *Adam* took his name from ἅδης, when the book warrants, that the word ἅδης had its derivation from *Adam*, not *Adam* from it. Of this opinion likewiſe is Mr. *Sanford*, in his book *De deſcenſu Chriſti ad inferos*, publiſhed and perfected

——τοὺς δ' αὖ ὑπεδέξατο ἅδης.
Ἅδην δ' αὖτε καλέσσαν ἐπεὶ πρῶτος μόλεν Ἀδὰμ,
Γευσάμενος θανάτου γαῖα δέμιν αμφεκάκυψε
Τοὔνεκα δὴ πάντες ὁι ἐπιχθόνιοι γεγαῶτες
Ἀνέρες εἰν αἴδαο δόμοις ἰέναι καλέονται.

perfected after his death by *Robert Parker*; he tells you, *pag.*8. ——— *luce clarius est*, Adamah *primum in* Hadam *deinde in* Haden *abiisse*; and *pag.*39, & 40. disputes it, that whoever go about to derive it from a Greek fountain are mistaken.

*Obj.*4.& 5. A fourth and fifth Objection he raiseth from the numbers of the names resulting from the name of GOD and of JESUS, the one consisting of 1697. the other of 888. the number of 1697. not agreeing to any name of God, and the other only to the Greek Ἰησοῦς. *Sibyl. Orac. pag.* 184. *in fine*, & *pag.* 171.

Ι—	10
η—	8
σ—	200
ο—	70
υ—	400
ς—	200
	888

Answ. Though for answer to that part of this Objection which concerns the ineffable name of God, I might refer you to the conjectures of several men; (*Leo Suavius* who contends it agrees to ἀρσενικὸν, of *Morellus* who saith it agrees to ἀνέκφωνος, *Johannes Auratus* who tells you θεὸς σωτὴρ is understood; of *Brentius* who expounds it by the word φαοσφόρος: All which you may see gathered together by *Opsopæus* in his Notes upon the place; and lastly to *D. Blundels* own conceit, which you may see *pag.*7.) Yet I rather chuse to acknowledge my own ignorance in not knowing whence to draw it, then to condemn the Book because I do not: Only let me observe, that he suspects the Book because the first Ænigme is obscure, and passeth the same censure upon it, because 'tis intelligible in the second.

Opsop.p.11,12.

ιακευωιαχ

I confess, I think the second Ænigme agreeing to the name of Jesus, consisting of the number 888. may have much in it of mystery, since it is composed of the first number which constitutes the first cubical or solid figure that doth *complere locum*, fill a place, as the Mathematicians will tell you, disposed *per monadas*, *decadas*, and *hecatontadas*, to shew that the foundation of our Salvation by Jesus is solid, that the Author and Finisher thereof is in all things perfect and compleat; whereas the name 666 given in Scripture to Antichrist is not at all so. Much more to this purpose might be added, but this touch shall suffice.

Sixthly, He accuses them of falshood, because they tell you that *Rome* should continue but 948 years, which were deduced from the number contained in the Greek word Ρώμη. *Object. 6.*

I find by this Objection, that though *David Blundel* was a very good Grecian, as appears by all his Books, yet he here rather chose to make use of the Latine Translation which serv'd his turn, whereas the Greek warrants no such thing. The words are, That *Rome* should fill up the number of 948 years, at which time she having filled up the number of her name, a sad portion or violent fate should approach her: For that is the sence of the words, which warrant *Answ.*

Τεὶς δὲ τειηκουσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ
Πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ἥξῃ
Μοῖρα, βιαζομένη, τεὸν οὔνομα πληρώσασα.
Lib. 8. p. 375.

rant no such thing as a final end of the City, and in truth in my judgment are not unlike those before quoted out of *Xiphilinus* the Epitomizer of *Dion*, that after 900 years a strange dissention and madness should divide and embroil them, which caused so much trouble in *Tiberius* his time, as you may see in the fourth Chapter foregoing: Insomuch that both he and *Nero* endeavoured to appease the fears of the people, who were much perplexed with the apprehension of it: So that you may see they harped much upon 900 years, as if some fatal accident should then happen: Upon which *Opsopæus* thinks that these Verses were by some later Writer inserted in imitation of those former, because no sinister accident happened then to the City: Which time fell out about the second or third year of *Severus*, as *D. Blundel*, and *Opsopæus* both agree, and is easily proved.

That no solid Argument can be raised always out of the Numeral Letters of a word, to determine by it the fate or downfall of any City or Kingdom, I easily grant; but that nothing at all can at any time be gathered from thence, is to condemn all the Cabalistical Learning of the Jews, and bring them upon our ears, who, as we all know, lay oftentimes much weight upon such kind of argumentations: But let us see if nothing notable happened about that time. By that sad portion which should then happen to the City might well be understood the growth of Christi-

Christianity, which at last should bring a final ruine to Heatheniſme, as indeed it did. Now we find at this very time *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tertullian*, two Heathen Philoſophers, and converted Chriſtians, great Champions for the Faith as ever it had, flouriſhed, and writ in the defence of Chriſtians, and Chriſtianity. About four years before, *Apollonius* a moſt Learned Philoſopher, and Chriſtian, gave an account of his Faith before the Senate, and was beheaded for it, as *Euſebius* in his Chronology, and *Helvicus* both have it. Theſe things then happening might well be as ſo many warning pieces preſaging the downfall of Heatheniſme, and undoubtedly muſt of neceſſity produce much civil diſſention, and partaking on all hands, and could not but be lookt upon as a ſad and unfortunate accident to the City, which might well be called Δῆμος & μοῖρα. Beſide, between the years 900 and 948 lived *Juſtin Martyr*, and ſuffered Martyrdome; *Polycarp* appeared at *Rome* about the difference of Eaſter; *Eleutherius* and *Victor* Popes of *Rome* then flouriſhed; *Athenagoras* writ an Apology for the Chriſtians, as you may ſee in *Helvicus* his Chronology: All which had, if in nothing elſe, yet in their very ſufferings, a kind of Victory over Paganiſme, and a ſhaking of *Rome*, which afterward fell in that ſence, when the Emperour became Chriſtian, about 300 years after the Birth of our Saviour.

Object.7. A seventh Objection is, That the Author of that part of the Sibylline Oracles makes *Ararat*, where the Ark rested, to be in *Phrygia*: The words are in the first Book, p.180.

Ἔστι δέ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἠπείροιο μελαίνης
Ἠλίβατον τανύμηκες ὄρος Ἀραρὰτ δὲ καλεῖται

And after the interposition of two Verses, follows

Ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μαρσύου πέφυκαν
Τοῦ δὲ κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖο καρηνῷ
Ληξάντων ὑδάτων. Sib.Orac.p.180.

There is, saith she, upon the Continent of black *Phrygia* a long and arduous Mountain called *Ararat*, within which the Springs of the River *Marsyas* arise, upon whose high top, when the waters abated, the Ark rested.

Answ. By these words nothing more can be necessarily collected, then that *Ararat* is upon the same Continent with *Phrygia*; for so Ἠπείρος signifies the Continent as it is distinguished from an Island. *Phrygia* is indeed in the lesser *Asia* bounded with *Cappadocia* on the East part of the Mountain, *Taurus* on the South, *Troas* on the West, and *Galatia* on the North; and if *Ararat* be in *Armenia*, the West part of *Armenia* borders upon *Cappadocia*; so that, for ought appears to the contrary, if the Ark rested in *Armenia*, as some hold, the Springs of the River *Marsyas* that runs through *Phrygia* might well enough arise there, the Mountain *Ararat* extending very far in length. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* places *Armenia* the less in *Natolia*, or the lesser *Asia*, makes

makes the Mountain *Ararat*, now called *Taurus*, extend very far, as you may see in the Map annexed to the seventh Chapter, *Sect.* 10. *Rawleigh, cap. 7. Sect.* 10 *pag.* 108.

But let us take it with *David Blundel* in the most rigid sense that the words of the Sibylls do indeed import, that the Ark did rest in *Phrygia* near the Springs of the River *Marsyas*, is he so assured of the place of its rest, that he dares from this falsity conclude all the Oracles spurious. The Learned *Bochartus* in his *Geograp. Sac. p.* 18. tells you the common opinion is, that *Ararat* is *Armenia*, but leaves the place of its resting very doubtful, inclines to the Gordiæan Hills, which indeed lye in *Armenia* the great, but no part of the Mountain *Ararat*, but a good way distant. *Annius* the Fryar in his Notes upon *Berosus* labours much to prove it rested upon the Caspian Mountains, which separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and do equally belong to both. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* makes that long ridge of Mountains which extend from *Phrygia* to the Confines of *Scythia intra Imaum*, to be by *Moses* called *Ararat*, endeavours by many, and weighty reasons to prove that the Ark rested upon that part of *Ararat* near *Caucasus* that borders upon *Scythia intra Imaum*, as you may see in the Map by him annexed of those parts, agreeing in that his opinion with *Goropius Becanus*, and our Dr. *Heylin* with them both. Whilst then we remain under so great an uncertainty touching this matter, what can be reasonably con-

Bochart. Geog. Sac. lib. 1. *p.* 15. *& Seq.*

Berosi. p. 55. *Edi. Antwerp.* 1552.

Rawleigh, lib. 1. *cap.* 7. *Sect.* 10. *p.* 108.

Heylin, Geog. p. 8, 9. *&c.*

cluded to the overthrow of the Sibylline Books from this medium? Some light we might have, did we certainly know that part of the world where it was built, whose fabrick and bulk, with the great burthen of all the creatures, and provision for their nourishment for a years time at least kept within it, would not suffer to float very far, but only as the current of the waters and wind might drive it. But where ever it rested, the Scripture tells you they journeyed from the East to the plains of *Shinaar*, where they built the Tower of *Babel*, and the confusion of Tongues happened. This reason, among others, induced Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, as diligent and judicious a Writer as any other, to place the resting of the Ark in that part he doth, and makes *Nimrod* to have a very long journey from thence, being the East part to the place where *Babylon* stood: Whereas otherwise if you place it upon the Gordæan Hills, as *Bochartus*, or in *Phrygia* as *Sibylla*, *Babylon* lying South or South-East to both these places, they could not be said to journey from, but toward the East, that travelled from those parts to *Babylon*. To solve this difficulty, *Bochartus* tells you his own conjecture, and seems to dislike others; that the Assyrians called all that part of their Empire which lay on the other side of the River *Tygris*, the Eastern part, all on this side the West; and so would make the Mountains of *Ararat* belong to the East, because they were in

Genes.11.v.1.

Bochart. Geog. Sac.p.35.ca.7.

in that Tract that lay on the other side of *Tigris*: Whereas if this division of the Assyrian Empire were not as well his conjecture as the other part of it, and that in truth there was no such division in use among the Assyrians in the time of *Moses*; yet is it no more then if one should say, that the Inhabitants of *England* travelling into *Virginia* could be said to come out of the West, because they were heretofore part of the Western Empire. *Jacobus Capillus* makes the Hebrew word קדם *Kedem* to signifie a Region, and saith; the posterity of *Noah* came from the Mountains of *Ararat* to that Region which was afterward called *Kedem* from *Kedma* the youngest Son of *Ismael*. Others will tell you, that *Kedem* signifies as well the beginning as the East, and that the same word is so used *Habak. chap.* 1. *Art not thou* קדם *from everlasting*, or from the beginning? So *Gen.* 2. the Chaldee Paraphrase renders the same word in that sense; so doth *Theodosion*, St. *Jerome*, and some others. *And the Lord planted a garden of Paradise from the beginning. Psal.* 68. we render the words so. *To him that rideth upon the Heaven of Heavens which were of old*, or from the beginning. With this Translation agree *Montanus* his Interlineary, and the Chaldee Paraphrase, as you may see in *Bib. Polyglot.* If this version may be allowed, as undoubtedly the words

Noa posteritas ab Armenia montibus progressa fuerat in eam regionem quæ postea dicta est קדם *Kedem à Kedma novissimo Ismaelis filio.* Bochart. pag. 35.

Habak. chap. 1. *ver.* 12.

Gen. 2. *v.* 8.

Psal. 68. 33.

Bib. Polyglot.

will bear it, then is that difficulty wholly taken away, and the words import no more, then that after the Ark had rested, and the Inhabitants of the earth began to enlarge their bounds, the beginning of their peregrination was toward the Land of *Shinaar*; and thus is the word rendered in this very place by the Chaldee Paraphrast, as you may see in *Bib. Poly.* But let us see if we may discover any farther light out of the Sibylline Writing it self. Admitting the words before quoted do necessarily imply, that *Ararat*, where the Ark rested, doth indeed, according to those Oracles, lye in *Phrygia*, then must it be in a place not far from the Springs of the River *Marsyas*: Now the River *Marsyas* rises about *Celæne* neer the River *Mæander*, as appears by *Xenophon, lib.* 1. *Anabas.*

Bib. Poly. Gen. 11. v. 1.

Ἐστι δὲ ἡ μεγάλη βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρύμνα ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τῆς Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· Ῥεῖ δὲ ἡ αὐτὸς διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς Μαιάνδρον. Xenoph. lib. 1. Anab.

The Court of the great King is in *Celæne*, fortified near, or about the Springs of the River *Marsyas*, beneath the Castle, which runs likewise through the City, and empties it self into *Mæander*. With whom agree *Livy*, *Strabo*, and others.

Liv. lib. 38.

Then probably there may be a mistake in the Transcriber, and the verse ought to run, Ἐστι δὲ τὶς Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἡπείροιο κελαίνης &c. the Letters κ and μ not being so very unlike, but that the same mistake hath been before made in that word, as *Bochartus*, and before him, *Casaubon* have observed. Now the same *Bochartus*

chartus will tell you, that *Apamia*, long after built by *Antiochus Soter*, and whither the Inhabitants of *Celæne* transplanted themselves, was called κιβωτὸς, which signifies an Ark, perhaps from the tradition that the Ark of *Noah* rested there, as likely as from any other reason, in which let the Reader be judge: Sure I am what I have said is enough in answer to *D. Blundel*, whose only exception is, that *Ararat* is made to lye in *Phrygia*, when himself, were he alive, could not determine neither what that Mountain is now called, nor where it lyes. But I must not dissemble what the learned *Bochartus* farther addes out of *Plutarch*, that the River *Marsyas* had its name from *Marsyas* the Son of *Midas*, which was many ages after the flood; and so that she that was with *Noah* could not remember it. To which I shall say, this seems to be only a conjecture of *Plutarch*, and the Son of *Midas* might as well receive his name from the River, as that from him; except you like better to believe this verse foisted in by some late Writer, who remembring that *Celæne* was called κιβωτὸς from the tradition of the Arks resting there, thought by this means to explain the Oracle, but indeed corrupted it: A misfortune like to it I have before shewed you happened to the text of *Justin Martyr*: For if that verse be left out, the sense of the Oracle is no more, then that in the Continent of black *Phrygia* there is a long and arduous Mountain called

Bochart. Geog Sac. p. 16, 17.

Bochart. p. 17. lib. 1.

Ararat, upon whose high top the Ark rested.

Blond.cap.3.p.9 But *D. Blundel* will not thus give us over, but tells us, that this very person discovers her self to be a Christian, and that she compiled this her Rapsodie between the years after Christ 138 and 151. that is between the time of the death of *Adrian*, and that part of the Reign of *Antoninus*, when *Justin Martyr* presented his Apology. The words referred to are these. We therefore that are sprung from the holy, and heavenly generation of Christ, &c. By which words, saith he, she evidently manifests her self to have lived after Christ.

Τουνέκ' ἀρ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁσίης χριστοῖο γενέθλης
Οὐρανίης πεφυῶτες, &c.—
Lib.8. p.403.

Though I might accommodate many answers to this place, and tell you, that all persons whatsoever that have been saved were regenerated by Christ, whether exhibited or to be exhibited, and that future things are often declared as past: Yet since it is not my task to justifie all things in those eight Books to be as ancient as the flood, but only to shew 'tis possible some things therein might, I shall not contend with him about it; so as on his part it might be as equally conceded, that there were more Sibylls then one, which I find him very hard to be induced to, as you may see in his seventeenth Chapter at the end, where he saith, all the eight Books which we have were written by one and the same hand; I confess very pertinently to his purpose, had he proved it, but contrary to the

Blond.cap.17. p. 78.

sence

ſence of all the world before him; except by writing he underſtand compoſing, and ſetting in order the works of many perſons, which probably might be the labour of one and the ſame perſon, according to the cuſtome of the Eaſtern Countries at this day (as I am informed by a Learned Divine that hath travelled in thoſe parts) where their manner is to gather together the wiſe ſayings of their Progenitors, who ever they were, without any order, or conſideration of time, or other circumſtance, and ſo tranſmit them to poſterity, indeed as a Rapſody, or disjointed things that have no neceſſary connexion or dependance one upon another, and yet all, or much of them very true. That theſe Writings of the Sibylls may have had their ſhare in this fate, as to ſome particulars therein, I think probable enough, but that will not ſerve to impugne the authority of them all.

Another Objection urged by *D. Blundel* *Object.8.* againſt theſe Books is taken from their direct contradiction of the Holy Scripture; for *Geneſ.7.11.* whereas *Moſes* tells you that *Noah* continued *Geneſ.8.14.* in the Ark from the 17th day of the ſecond moneth to the 27th day of the ſecond moneth following, the Authour of this work plainly ſaith, that *Noah* went out of the Ark the eighth perſon, after he had fulfilled forty and one days in the waters, according to the will of God.

Καὶ τότε δὴ τοι Νῶε δικαιότατος ἀνθρώπων
Ὄγδοος ἐξῆλθεν δὶς εἴκοσι καὶ μίαν ἠῶ
Πληρώσας ὑδάτεσσι θεοῦ μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς.
Sibyl. Orac. lib. 1. p. 183.

 If

Answ. If this learned man had as much endeavoured to have gathered Arguments for the asserting the truth of the Sibylline Predictictions, as he was curious and diligent to heap up all imaginable matter that could be found out any way to impugne their authority, he might from this place have found out as well reason to believe them true, as by it conclude their falshood; for he could not but see that the History of the flood is told almost directly like to that related by *Moses* in *Genesis*: The opening the flood-gates and cataracts of Heaven, of his opening the roof of the Ark, of his great fear, of the endless extent of the waters, of the earths being covered and drowned by them many days, and of the terrible face of the Heavens during that time. She then tells you the story of the first sending out of the Dove, her return; then the sending her out the second time, her return with an Olive branch in her mouth: After this the sending forth the Raven, who returned not: And before the first sending forth the Dove, tells you of some remission in the air after the earth had been watered with the rain many days: And after this and the

Ὠκα δὲ πῶμ' ἀνέωξε περιξεστοῦ ἀπὸ τοίχου
Ἐμπείροις ἁρμοῖσι κατ' ἀντιον ἁρμιδέντος·
Καὶ λεύσας ὑδάτων μὲν ἀπειρεσίων πολὺ πλῆθος,
Πάντοτε Νῶε μόρον μόρεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι ὁρᾶσθαι
Δεὶ μ' ἔχε καὶ κραδίην πάλλεν μέχα· καὶ τότε δ' ἄηρ
Βαιὸν στειλάμενος (ἐπειὴ κάμεν ἤμασι πολλοῖς
Κόσμον ὅλον δεύων) διελὼν τότε οἷά τε χλωρὸν
Αἱματόεντα πόλοιο μέγαν τε πυραυγέα δίσκον
Δείξεν κεκμηῶτα, μόλις δὲ εἶχεν Νῶε θαρσὸς
Καὶ τότε δὴ πελιὴν ὄιν ἀπὸ νοσφὶ ποιήσας
Ἔκβαλεν ὄφρα γνοίη ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἰ πόθε γαῖα
Φαίνετ' ἐπὶ στερεῆ· ἡ δὲ πτερύγεσσι καμοῦσα
Πάντα περιπτήσασα πάλιν τρέπετ' οὔτε γὰρ ὕδωρ

the first return of the Dove, his remaining in the Ark more days: And much more to that purpose, all which could not probably be performed in the space of 40 or 41 days, in which time 'tis scarce imaginable either how or from whence so great a bulk of water could come, as was sufficient to cover the whole globe of the earth so high, as to be enough above the highest mountain upon the face of it, that all the Inhabitants might be drowned, had not the immediate hand, and power of God intervened to effect it. Insomuch that no Impostor whatsoever, except he had been more foolish then false, would have transcribed a story out of *Moses* with circumstances comprehending some length of time in their performance, and at last contradict his own relation in a matter which lay directly before his eyes, and impossible not to be detected. We may therefore with more reason believe this relation not to have been taken out of *Moses*, but rather to have proceeded out of the mouth of her that was in the Ark with *Noah*, which being no way prophetical but historical, may admit of a greater latitude, and lead us to conclude the Writer, whoever she was, pitched upon some considerable, or notable period of 41 days, in which they were in the greatest danger. Let us therefore see if we can any way discover when this was. *Moses* saith, *Genes.* 7. *Gen.* 7. *v.* 11.

Ἠνκοπάσαν· μάλα γὰρ τε πεπληρώκει τὰ ἕκαστα· Αὖταρ ὃς ἡσυχάσας πάλιν ἤματα πέμπε πέλειαν Αὐθις, &c. Sibyl. Orac. lib. 1. pag. 179.

That

That on the seventeenth day of the second moneth, when *Noah* and all his Family with the creatures were in the Ark, and that the Lord had shut up the door upon them, that the fountains of the deep were broken up, and the cataracts of Heaven opened, and that it rained upon the earth by the space of forty days and forty nights. This certainly was the period aimed at by the Sibyll (who might well call it 41 days, reckoning the day they all, or some of them, entered into the Ark before the rain fell, for one, and *Moses* only reckoning the time whilst the rain was falling) during which time they might well be said to be shut up by the Lord, as well for their defence against the impetuosity of the weather and waves, which shook the ribs of their wooden habitation, as the violence might have been offered to it both by men and beasts, before the waters had force enough to raise it out of their reach, or depth enough to drown them: All which time, if we believe the Eastern Traditions, *Noah* and his Sons kept a solemn Fast, taking meat but once a day, as I find it in *Gregories Opuscula*, p. 28. out of the *Catena Arabica*: And *Noah* was the first who made the 40 days holy, or instituted the Quadragesimal Fast in the Ark. The words thus explained are fully consonant with what is recorded in Scripture; the many days mentioned by the Sibyll comprehending all that time definitively, set down by *Moses* till their going out; the 41 containing

Catena veterum præcipuè Orientalium in Pentateuchum. Arabicè M.S. in archivis Bibliot. Bodl.

ing only those in which they fasted, and were in continual horror and fear of death, which they might truly say to have fulfilled in the water, being environed with it both above their head, and beneath the soles of their feet. So that this Argument is so far from standing *D. Blundel* in any stead, that it much serves to confirm, not weaken their authority.

In the ninth place he urges, that they countenance the fable of the Titans, as if it were true; the opinion of the Chiliasts as to the re-building of *Jerusalem*. *Object. 9.*

That much concerning the Titans or Giants, as their story is related by Poets, may be fabulous, I shall easily grant; but that what is urged by the Sibylls concerning them is also so, *D. Blundel* hath not proved. They are mentioned in several places in the Sibylline Writings: First in the first Book. *Answ.*

——τότε δ' αὖ βαρὺ στιβαρὸν μετέποιτα
Δεύτερον αὖ γένος ἄλλο χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων
Τιτήνων· ὅμοιος δὲ τύπος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἑκάστου
Εἶδος καὶ μέγεθός τε φυὴ φάνη δὲ μι' ἔσται.
Lib. 1. p. 184.

Again,

——οἷς Κρίσιν ἄξει
Εἰδώλων τὰ μάλιστα παλαιγενέων Τιτάνων
Ἠδὲ τε γιγάντων καὶ ὅσας εἶλεν κατάκλυσμος
Lib. 2. p. 204.

Again,

Πρῶτον Τιτανέσσι θεὸς κακὸν ἐγγυαλίξει
Τοὶ γὰρ κρατεροῖο κρόνου τισοῦσι δίκας γε
Οὐνέκα οἱ δῆσάν τε κρόνον καὶ μητέρα κέδνην.
Lib. 3. p. 232.

From

From all which places there is no more imported, then that God would at last execut judgment upon those Titans or Giants whom the flood had devoured, who were a wicked generation. *Prov.*21.16. *The man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the Congregation of the dead*, as we render it, in the Congregation of the *Rephaim* in the Original, which word by the Septuagint is always rendred Giants, Titans, or the like: So that I see nothing to be excepted against in their Writings, or to accuse them as fabulous for calling the Inhabitants of the old world Titans.

*See Mead in Distrib. upon Prov.*21,16.

That which he calls the Hæresie of the Chiliasts he could not be ignorant had received learned Supporters both in ancient and modern times: Whether what ever hath been hitherto urged in their defence be confuted, remains yet *sub judice*; certainly those which believe the Jews shall yet once more be graffed into their own Olive-tree, will not think it unreasonable that *Jerusalem* may be again as famous in the profession of Christianity, as it hath formerly been of Judaisme.

*Object.*10. *D. Blundel* farther objects, That those Books make *Adrian* the Roman Emperour that succeeded *Trajan*, by whom he was adopted, as some say, to have strangled himself, which was in no sort true.

Answ. *Adrian* was not indeed strangled, as the words in the Sibylline Oracles import, which are as follow. Ἀλλ'

Ἀλλ' ὅτε σοι βασιλεῖς χλιδανοὶ τρὶς πέντε γένωνται
Κόσμον δουλώσαντες ἀπ' αὐτολίης μέχρι δυσμῶν
Ἔσσετ' ἄναξ πολιόκρανος ἔχων πέλας οὔνομα πόντου
Κόσμον ἐποπτεύων μιαρῶ πόδι δῶρα πορίζων
Χρύσον μὲν πάμπλειστον ἔχων καὶ ἄργυρον ἐχθρὸν
Πλείονα συλλέξας καὶ γυμνώσας ἀναλύσει
Καὶ μαγικῶν ἀδύτων μυστήρια πάντα μεθέξει
Αἴλινος ἔκτοτε καιρὸς ὅτι λῖνος αὐτὸν ὀλεῖται.
Sibyl. Orac. lib. 8. p. 367.

The ſence of them is, that when fifteen Kings had ſubjected the world to themſelves from the Eaſt to the Weſt, one ſhould ariſe wearing a white helmet, having a name almoſt of the Sea, overlooking the world with his polluted feet, that gathered and ſpent much money, skilful, or making uſe of all the Myſteries of Magick, *&c.* After the interpoſition of two or three verſes, ſhe ſaith, then ſhall be a lamentable time, becauſe he periſhed by a halter.

This perſon, though no body is particularly named, is commonly taken to be *Adrian*, both becauſe he is the fifteenth from *Julius Cæſar*, his name ſeems to reſemble the Adriatick Sea, and that he made uſe of Magick ſpells for the curing his diſeaſe, of which *Xiphilinus* tells you he was once by the help of Magick recovered, but after fell again into the ſame, whereof he miſerably dyed, after he had in vain implored death from the hands of his ſervants, but could find none to afford it him. *Xiphil. Epit. Dion. p. 360. lin. 29.*

The difficulty of this place is eaſily reconciled, by admitting an eaſie miſtake in the Tranſcriber,

Transcriber, by putting an [n] in the place of a [b]; for if we read the Verse thus, Αἰλινὸς ἔκτοτε καιρὸς ὅτι λίβος αὐτὸν ὀλέσται, 'tis then true according to the story, that a dropsie should destroy him; for λίβος signifies a drop of water or a tear, and in poesie may, especially in ænigmatical or prophetical speeches, denote a dropsie.

Some other Objections *D. Blundel* hath gathered together touching some Geographical mistakes, some doubts concerning *Gog* and *Magog*, concerning Antichrist, and such like, to which satisfaction might be easily given; but I rather forbear, being perswaded that no man that is in some measure satisfied with the answers given already to the most material Objections, of which I have pretermitted none, but will easily satisfie himself as to the rest in that Chapter.

But having gone thus far, and seen the strength of *D. Blundel* as an opposer, we shall in the next Chapter consider him as an answerer, and see if in that he succeeds any better.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Oppoſition made by D. Blundel *to the Authorities and Quotations of the Ancient Writers in favour of the Sibylline books, and his anſwers to them weighed.*

THis Learned Divine, and great Reader of Authors both Chriſtian and Heathen, having left no ſtone unmoved which could any way ſerve his turn to the overthrow of theſe Writings; yet at laſt could not but ſee the Authorities of ſo many Writers of great Antiquity, and for many hundred years together which had decurrently made uſe of the Teſtimonies of the Sibylls for the confutation of their Adverſaries, would ſtill remain like ſo many thorns in his feet, he thought it very neceſſary to ſay ſomething in reply to what had been urged by them. The firſt he takes into conſideration is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, a perſon, he knew, of variety of Learning, inſomuch that ſome part of his Books were called Στρωματεῖς, from the variety

riety of the ſubjects they handled, and of great antiquity in the Church, having flouriſhed (and written, as 'tis thought) within 160 years, or thereabout, after the death of our bleſſed Saviour; and finding that he had in ſundry places mentioned the Sibylls, and their Books, particularly in his firſt Book *Strom.* in which he mentions many of them, and among others *Phemonoe*, whom he affirms to have lived twenty ſeven years before *Orpheus*, who was one of the Captains in the expedition of the *Argonauts* againſt *Jaſon* for the golden Fleece, about the year from the Creation, according to *D. Simpſon*, 2743. (according to *Helvicus* not ſo much) who by the way tells you, that what before was read 27, ought to be 107, as the ſame Author had before noted in the ſame Book; who had alſo before mentioned another ancienter then this *Phemonoe*, another later, namely *Sibylla Erythrea*, with others, whereas *D. Blundel* contends there was but one and the ſame perſon Author of all the Sibylline Books now extant much after Chriſt: Nay farther, that he was not ignorant that *Pauſanias* mentions the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia* long before the building of *Delphos*, in which place *Phemonoe* was perhaps one of the firſt that gave out Oracles, though long after the firſt Sibyll: And had farther obſerved, that many verſes now extant in the Books we have, and other paſſages therein, were mentioned in Heathen as well as Chriſtian Authors: That

Helvic. Chronol. pa. 91.

Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. 1. p. 323 B. Edit. Pariſ. 1629. & p. 304.

Simpſon in an.

Conſtantine

Constantine who was not only a Christian, and so by his profession bound to speak truth; but an Emperour, and so in a capacity by his power to examine all Records, and other means by which the truth might be discovered, had not only asserted their authority, but made it evident that both *Virgil* and *Tully* had seen and made use of some passages now in those Books we have: He had great reason to believe, that some of his Readers would lay more weight upon the judgment of so many grave Writers, then to be led away by his bare suspition.

The passage he first lays hold on is in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his sixth Book, in these words. Over and above the preaching of S. *Peter*, *Paul* the Apostle saith, Take unto your selves the Grœcian Writers; read *Sibylla* how she manifestly declares one God, and the things that are to come.

Δηλώσει πρὸς τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ὁ Ἀπόστολος λέγων Παῦλος· Λάβετε καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς βίβλους· ἐπίγνωτε Σίβυλλαν ὡς δηλοῖ ἕνα θεὸν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Lib. 6. Strom. p. 636.

That which he replies to this place is very fit to be set down in his own words, though they are somewhat long.

They shall give me pardon (by their leave) if I say they accumulate one ill upon another; for if it were a fault to give consent (with S. *Justin*) to an untruth which he could not know, how odious ought the fault to be of this false witness,

Mais il me pardonneront (s'il leur plaist) si je dis que ils accumulent mal sur mal; car s'il y a de la faute a soufcrire (comme S. Justin) a une fausseté que l'on n'a peu recognoistre, combien doit estre odieux le crime de ce faux tesmoign qui (pour tromper Clement Alex-

andrin & les autres Chreſtiens) a voulu ſouſtenir la ſuppoſition des eſcrits Sibyllins, par une pire impoſture, & feindre que S. Paul luy meſme leur avoit concilié de l'authorité par ſa recommendation? Si les bonnes ames ont de la peine a ſouffrir que l'on donne en leur preſence les eloges de la pudicite a de louues de bordel, qui d'entre les vrais Chreſtiens pourra ſupporter que l'on egale aux prophetes de dieu des hypocondriaques. & a leurs oracles cœleſtes, des reſveries embaraſſées, & que l'inventeur d'une ſi indigne fourbe, oſe pour la maintenir, produire l'Apoſtre comme complice de ſon audace ſacrilege? On veut neanmoins que de ce vaiſſeau d'election ſoient ſorties les paroles rapportées par Clement, & pour ce que rien de tel ne ſe trouve en ſes epiſtres on ſe figure qu'il les a prononcees en ſes ſermons populairs, come s'il avoit eſte poſſible a celuy qui a ſacrifié ſa vie par un glorieux martyre l'an 65 de noſtre Seigneur, de donner ſon approbation a une piece pleine de fautes, & forge depuis l'an 137, &c. Blond. des Sibylles, cap. 5. p. 15. & 16.

who (to the end he might deceive *Clemens Alexandrinus* and the reſt of the Chriſtians) hath ſhew'd himſelf willing to maintain the ſuppoſition of the Sibylline Writings by a worſe impoſture, & feigns that S. *Paul* himſelf had given them authority by his recommendation? If thoſe good ſouls would be unwilling that one in their preſence ſhould commend for chaſtity the perſons hired in unclean houſes, what true Chriſtian could endure to hear equalled to the Prophets of God and their Propheſies the embroiled fancies of Hypochondriacks, and that the Inventor of this ſo unworthy cheat ſhould dare for the maintenance of it to produce the Apoſtle as a Partner of his ſacrilegious boldneſs? Notwithſtanding all this there are that would have theſe words quoted by *Clemens* to have proceeded out of the mouth of this Veſſel of Election; and becauſe no ſuch thing is found in his Epiſtles, they feign to themſelves that he ſpake them in his Sermons to the people, as if it were poſſible for him who ſacrificed his life by ſo glorious

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a Martyrdome 65 years after our Saviour, could give approbation to a piece full of faults, and forged 137 years after.

I ask first who was this false witness whose crime was so odious, who was the inventor of that so unworthy a cheat; and that durst make St *Paul* his partner in so sacrilegious a boldnes; and that deceived *Clemens*, and the rest of the Christians? I am sure there is nothing extant in their Writings, that tells you that St *Paul* made use of them; and I think he did not believe any body stood at *Clemens* his elbow to engage him to father that upon St *Paul* which he would not own; so that it must necessarily follow, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* himself must be the person guilty of this cheat, this sacrilegious boldness, to deceive both himself and other Christians: Certainly *D. Blundel* had too much worth to intend any such calumny to this Writer, or to affix so ill language of him; and I observe it only to let you see how far that ἀμετρία ἀνθρώπων, the immoderate drawing of all things to the contrary part, to serve their ends, may mislead wise men, after they have espoused the defence of any cause, though never so unjust.

We will now examine what in this Allegation is Argumentative on *David Blundels* part: His design is to shew these eight Books of the Sibylline Writings, to be embroyled fancies, rapsodies proceeding from hypochondriaques full of faults, and written 137. years

after Christ. To do this he tells you *Clemens Alexandrinus* urges, That St *Paul* remitts the Gentiles to the Books of one of the Sibylls to prove the unity of the Godhead, and other things to come; but there is no such thing extant in St *Pauls* Epistles, that we have; therefore those Books are spurious, false, and I know not what else. Were he able to prove that St *Paul* never said or wrote any other thing than what we have in those few Epistles of his, and that little that is related of him in the *Acts*, nothing more would follow than that *Clemens* misalledged him, nothing at all to the overthrow of the Books, which we know were in the world both in *Tully*'s and *Virgil*'s time, and therefore could not be unknown to St *Paul*, being sometime in the Court of *Nero*, and bred up unto much learning. We know he did upon the like occasion remember them of the Poems of *Aratus* and *Epimenides*, and why not of the Sibylls? We have reason enough to believe *Clemens* might have some pieces of St *Paul* which are unknown unto us, the rather since we see new things are dayly discovered; witness the first Epistle of *Clemens Romanus* (the genuineness of which few doubt, yet) not brought to light till our days; and why the like may not be supposed of St *Paul*, I see not: This is clear, he had a good esteem of those Writings, and that in his judgment St *Paul* might have made use of their authority in that point. Oh, but here is a great deal of clearness in these Oracles more

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than in the Scriptures; therefore St P*aul* could not be the Author of this Allegation. Touching the clearneſs of theſe Writings in general, I have ſpoke at large in the fourth Chapter; as to their plainneſs for the proving the Unity of the Godhead, certainly nothing in the world can be more clear than the Scripture in many places; ſo that *D. Blundel*, as to this particular, hath not made his reply good againſt *Clemens* his Authority in any part. I wonder he did not as much find fault with his quotation of the Sermon of St P*eter* a little before, where he tells you of the Unity, Incomprehenſibleneſs, Inviſibility, of his filling all things, and ſtanding need of nothing, of his making all things by the power of his Word, that is, his Son, and many more undoubted truths, but not delivered, at leaſt not all of them, in thoſe words, by St P*eter* in any thing of his now extant. I cannot doubt but could that have been uſeful, he would have heaped it up alſo amongſt *Clemens* his miſtakes, with which he fills up his next Chapter; and, were they all true, would be very little to his purpoſe.

Πέτρος ἐν τῷ Κηρύγματι λέγει· Γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι εἷς Θεός ἐστιν, ὃς ἀρχὴν πάντων ἐποίησεν, καὶ τέλους ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ ἀόρατος, ὁς τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ· ἀχώρητος ὢν τὸ πᾶν χωρεῖ· ἀνενδεής, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπιδέεται, καὶ δι' ὃν ἐστιν, &c. *Lib. 6. Strom.* p. 635.

After this, from the beginning of the eleventh Chapter to the end of the fifteenth, he ſpends his whole time, and as much paper as I have allotted my ſelf to this whole diſcourſe, in ſhewing you the more important miſtakes

in the Emperour *Constantine*, in his eleventh Chapter; then his mistakes of less importance in the fourteenth; the discovery and clearing the opinion of *Cicero*, in the twelfth, and of *Virgil* in the thirteenth Ghapter; that *Virgil* did not disguise his opinion, is the subject of his fifteenth Chapter. Whereas after all this labour and pains, he wholy mistakes both the design and drift, not only of the Emperor, but of all other the Christians that have made use of the Sibylline Writings, whose aim was not to concern themselves what was the opinion either of *Tully* touching them, or what *Virgil* meant in his fourth Eclogue; but whether the words of one do not clearly import that there were Sibylls, and that in their Writings were Acrostiques; and that the words of the other import that which is not applicable to any but our Saviour: Now that this is made good in every particular, is so clear, that the very recitation of the words are of themselves able to confute any man. The words of *Tully*, in his second Book of Divination, are these. Speaking of the Sibylls. The Poem it self evidently shews, that the Verses are not a mad bodies, (for it savours more of Art and diligence, than of sudden motion, or incitation) especially that which is called an Acrostich, in which, from the first letters of every verse downward, something is framed or knit

Non esse autem illud carmen furentis cum ipsum Poëma declarat (est enim magis artis, & diligentiæ, quam iucitationis, & motus) tum vero ea quæ Ἀκροστιχὶς dicitur cum deinceps exprimis versus literis aliquid connectitur ut in quibusdam Enniani quæ Ennius fecit. Cicer. de Divinat. lib 2.

knit together, as it is in ſome of thoſe which *Ennius* hath made. 'Tis clear enough from theſe words that there were Acroſticks, and ſuch as *Ennius* made; but of what ſort thoſe were we cannot know, ſince of him we have nothing left that I know of, but certain fragments gathered together out of all Authors by *Robert Stephen*, and put out by *Henry* his brother: But if we may gueſs at them by thoſe in the Arguments of moſt, if not all the Comœdies of *Plautus*, who was near, if not of his time, (for between the birth of *Ennius* and death of *Plautus* are but 60. years, or thereabout, and both before *Tully*) we ſhall find them ſuch as thoſe quoted out of the eighth Book of the Sibylline Oracles, and repeated by *Conſtantine*; ſo that I look upon that in *D. Blundel*, *pag.* 55. as a fancy; who would have Acroſticks ſo made, that the number of the letters in the firſt Verſe ſhould contain the number of the verſes in the whole Poem, and that the ſecond of the firſt ſhould be the firſt letter of the ſecond verſe, and ſo conſecutively; of which ſort he gives one only verſe, as an example, 705 years after Chriſt, and perhaps the only one ever made of that ſort. *Lillius Giraldus* tells you of Acroſticks, and Paraſticks, but of none of this ſort; ſo that we have little reaſon to believe thoſe in the Sibylline Oracles other than what we have. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* tells you, the true Sibylline Writings were diſcovered by the Acroſticks, enough to prove there were ſuch.

Helvic. Chron. act. ann. mun. 3712.

Lil. Giral. de Poet. Hiſt. Dial. 2. *p.* 11.

Thoſe of *Virgil* are in his fourth Eclogue too long to tranſcribe, and ſuch, that *Conſtantine*, in his Oration *Ad Sanctorum Cœtum*, ſpends his nineteenth and twentieth Chapters to ſhew they could not be underſtood of any other but our Saviour, and ſhews there, that thoſe, as well Acroſticks as other Writings of the Sibylls, had been ſeen both by *Cicero* and *Virgil*, and the Acroſticks tranſlated by *Cicero*, and all this made ſo manifeſt by thoſe that had accurately computed the time, that their teſtimony is beyond exception. Of the ſame opinion is *Lactantius*, who tells you, None that hath either read *Cicero* or *Varro* will believe theſe Writings counterfeited by the Chriſtians; out of which theſe teſtimonies had been produced by perſons dead long before the birth of our Saviour. But I had almoſt forgotten that he offers ſome reaſon againſt the Acroſtick mentioned in the Oration of *Conſtantine*, becauſe in the Sibylline Books it is Ἰησοῦς Χρειςὸς, conſiſting of one letter more than the name ought to have according to the true writing thereof; whereas *D. Blundel*, who makes this Objection, could not be ignorant that the ancient *Græcians* accounted the name of *Chriſtus octoſyllabum*, as *Irenæus* tells him: And *Valeſius* in his Notes upon *Euſebius*, lately put out at *Paris*, 1659. hath theſe words; The ancient *Græcians* accounted the Name of Chriſt to conſiſt of eight ſyllables (taking ſylable there for

Lact. l. 5. de ver. ſap. p. 402.

Iren. li. 1. ca. 10.

Sane veteres Græci nomen Chriſti octoſyllabum faciebant Χρειςὸς *ſcribentes cum diphthongo ut docet Iren. l. 1. c. 10.*

a letter) writing Christ, *Creist*, with a dipthong, I confess I find not that particular in *Irenæus*, in the place quoted, nor remember it in any other; but of this I am sure to have observed in ancient Greek Inscriptions upon Statues and Pillars, what we now write with a single I, expressed by a dipthong, and the like, which is evident in the writing of the word Λατειν⊙, *Latinus*. *Vid. Seldini Marmora Arundeliana.*

CHAP. VII.

Of Predictions of things to come; and of Divination in general, what sorts lawfull, what uncertain. Of Enthusiasme, *the definition of it. Of Enthusiasticks, and such of our Time who have pretended to Visions, and Revelations. The difference between true and fals Prophets: In what rank the Sibylls are to be accounted.*

DAvid Blundel having urged all the Arguments he could against the Sibylline Books,

Books, now at last employs many Chapters touching Enthusiasme, the consideration whereof I shal now take in hand, bnt think it not amiss in the first place to speak something of Predictions in general, and the several ways by which future events are foretold, and frequently come to pass. The first is of wise and Learned men, who from their Observations out of History, and comparing the times past and present, when they shall see the same things come again upon the stage of the world that have formerly been, and then considering all circumstances of agreement, and difference, are able to give a probable conjecture, which seldome fails, of what is like to come to pass, which sort of Predictions are not only lawful, but worthy of much commendation, and are very frequently conducible to the good of Kingdoms, by preventing evils otherwise like to come upon them.

A second sort is Astrological Prediction, wherein the Artist undertakes from the position of the Heavens, and configurations of the Planets, at such a certain moment of time, to foretell future accidents: This Art I cannot say is unlawful, but I take it to be conjectural, uncertain, and by ignorant people much abused: Strange things are, I confess, often foretold, and sometime prove true, when a skillful Artist hath the handling of the matter, but many times are otherwise; sometime from the ignorance of him that undertakes the judgment, other while from the influence

influence of ſome of the fix'd ſtars, which being ſeldom taken notice of, may croſs or hinder what would otherwiſe haply have come to paſs; or thirdly, from the want of a ſufficient treaſure of Obſervations, by which judgment ought to be given; the ſame poſture of the Heavens having never twice happened alike in every circumſtance ſince the Creation; and by that means leaving the world deſtitute of ſtable means to judge upon, ſince what can be rationally ſaid in that kind muſt proceed from the comparing of events which have happened under ſuch and ſuch Configurations, with what are like to be when the ſame fall out again; or, laſtly, from the care of the party himſelf, who may by his own induſtry prevent what his deſtiny from the influence of the Stars would have been, which at moſt do not neceſſitate, but incline, and by the providence and over-ruling power of God are ſometimes diverted.

A third ſort is a geomantical or terreſtrial Divination, in which from certain voluntary points made by the hand at adventure, certain figures are raiſed; from the four firſt of them called Fathers, are produced other four called daughters; thoſe eight bring forth four grandchildren, from them come out two Witneſſes, from thoſe a Judge, in all twelve, anſwerable to the twelve Houſes in Aſtrology, and the judgment upon this ſort of Divination not much unlike that of Aſtrology. The ground of this Art and its foundation is laid upon

upon a falſe ſuppoſition, that the ſoul of man knoweth things to come, but is hindred by the dulneſs of the Organs of the body; and therefore in the practice of it a great ſedateneſs of mind is required, a freedome from all noiſe that may diſturb it, and ſuch like circumſtances, which he that hath a mind to know may find in *Cattan*, Dr. *Floud*, and *H. de Piſis*, who have all written largely upon it. This kind of Divination I take to be idle, vain, and ſuperſtitious, as not built upon any ſtable foundation of Reaſon, or ſupported by any thing but fancy.

A fourth ſort is by framing certain Figures of ſtone or metal, underneath ſuch Conſtellations, and placing them either in ſome conſpicuous place of a Town, or ſometime under ground, by which ſtrange things are wrought; theſe are called *Taliſmans*, of which, as alſo the language of the Stars, with an Alphabetical Table, and how from that words are framed, which ſhall declare the event of things to come, according to the nature of the Queſtion; *Gaffarel*, a Learned Frenchman, hath largely written in his Book called *Unheard of Curioſities*; ſuch they will prove to him that ſpends much time in the ſtudy of them. Other frivolous ways of ſortiledge there are, which I ſhall purpoſely paſs over.

The next way of Divination I ſhall mention is Enthuſiaſme, or Illumination; and this is moſt to our purpoſe to treat of; *Heſychius* in his Gloſſary interprets it thus: An Enthuſi-

Enthusiastick is one that is mad or full of the Spirit. Enthusiasme is a stupor or horror: Or, Enthusiasme is when the whole soul is enlightned by God. By which several interpretations of the word, it may easily be gathered, that Enthusiasm may be of several kinds; some natural, or at least proceeding from some distemper of the body, which arising from a natural cause, it may be so called; others come by possession or inspiration of some spirit either good or bad, which may be well deemed supernatural. Much contest there is whether all Enthusiasme be natural, and to that purpose the authority of *Aristotle* is produced, who discoursing of the several passions arising from drink, love, and the like, or from some melancholy heat, tells you the story of one *Maracus* of *Siracuse*, a Poet, who never made so good verses as when he was mad, and immediately before hath these words; Many because that heat is near the seat of the mind, are taken with sundry frantick and Enthusiastick diseases; from whence they all become Sibylls, Bakides, or inspired, whereas they become not so by any disease, but a natural temperament. From which words we may observe two things. First, That he doth not in this place point at any Sibyll in particular,

Ἔνθους ἐνθουσιαστὴς Μαινόμενος πνευματοφόρος Ἐνθουσία ἐκπληξὶς Ἐνθουσιασμὸς ἔστι ὅτε ἡ ψύχη ὅλη ἐλλάμπεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ νοεροῦ τόπου τὴν θερμότητα ταύτην νοσήμασιν ἁλίσκονται μανικοῖς, ἢ ἐνθουσιαστικοῖς; ὅθεν Σίβυλλαι, καὶ Βάκιδες, καὶ οἱ ἔνθεοι γίνονται παντὲς ὅταν με νοσήματι γενώνται, ἀλλὰ φυσικῇ κράσει Μαράκος δὲ, &c. Arist. Probl. 30. Quest. 1.

of

of which many had been before his time, but takes Sibylls there for persons any way inspired, as the Bakides and Ἐνθεοὶ joyned with them, were supposed to be: And in the next place, That he must (not to contradict himself) take disease in a different sence in the same place; for in the beginning of the sentence he tells you, They are taken with many frantick or Enthusiastick diseases, and soon after saith, They become so not from any disease, but a natural crasis or temperaments; in the last place therefore he must take disease in that stricter notion, for such an affection as shakes and weakens the whole frame of the body; in the first, for such a distemper as drunkenness, love, poetical rapture, and the like, such as he calls natural Enthusiasme, which will either be its own cure, or vanish away with time, the constitution being sound, though the action be altered; but however it will from these words of *Aristotle* follow, that in his sence much of this kind of illumination proceeded from an exaltation of the mind by some ecstatick operation of the soul, and not from any possession or inspiration of it by either good or evil spirits: And undoubtedly great examples in all ages may be produced out of the Observations of several Physitians, to this purpose, some whereof have been meer cheats, to gain credit to such as should cure or exorcise them; others true, or natural, where through some melancholy heat, or strong imagination, or lastly, through

custom

cuſtom and uſe; the perſons affected have brought upon themſelves ſuch a habit of body, that their fancy prevailing over their judgment and underſtanding, they have really believed themſelves poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of Propheſie, and enlightning from God, whereas in truth there was no ſuch thing. I my ſelf have known two examples in Perſons both of this Nation, of good Rank and Quality; the one a man whom I have often ſeen, and ſometimes heard diſcourſe, but was then too young my ſelf to converſe with him, but am well aſſured he was otherwiſe a very ſober perſon; but in that particular of explaining difficult propheſies, did think himſelf ſtrangely indowed; inſomuch that his confidence ſo far miſled him, that he could no way be driven out of that opinion, That the eleventh Chapter of the ſecond Apocryphal Book of *Eſdras* denoted King *James*, who was the Lion of the North, who plucked at the feathers of the Eagle, which he conceived to be the Emperour: Nay, his confidence in this fancy was ſo great, that after the death of the King, he believed he ſhould riſe again out of his grave to make good his conjecture. The other was a Lady of Noble Rank, who pretended much to this gift of Propheſie, and having unhappily foretold the death of a great perſon which by chance fell out true, ſhe was mightily puft up with it, and followed by ſome of the giddy multitude; ſhe undertook to denounce the end of the world,

see Montagnes *Eſſays, Strange effects from the force of imagination, in his Chapter upon that ſubject.* Fienus de viribus imaginationis.

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writ upon the prophecy of *Daniel*, very idly, and at last lived to see her self deceived in all her vain extravagancies. These two might certainly be reckoned amongst the Enthusiasts of *Aristotle*, who laboured under some light disorder of the brain, which disturbed their judgment as to that particular, though in other matters they were sober enough; and under the same notion must I look upon the false Prophets, Dreamers, and Quakers, whereof this Age hath been very fertile, who pretend themselves endued with an extraordinary measure of the Spirit of God; first dream dreams, then see visions, then expound them after their own imaginations, and would obtrude these upon the ignorant multitude as Revelations of God, which are indeed no other than the effects of a disturbed brain, what they foretel rarely coming in any measure to pass, and themselves never able to confirm their mission by any miracle whatsoever, to induce men to believe them Prophets: Some of them are not unlike the Dervises or Torlaces in *Turky*; who by frequent using their bodies to turn round, can at their pleasure fall into extasies, in which they pretend to receive messages from God, and deceive those that give credit to them; though, to speak truth, the sad consequences that have followed from the doctrine of some of these pretenders to new Lights, may give us good cause to believe them to have been led away into these extravagancies by the

spirit

ſpirit of errour and deluſion, and not wholly by a natural diſturbance of the brain: Unleſs (as we have great reaſon to ſuſpect) that many of them have been carried on by intereſt and deſign, by ſuch pretences to deceive others, thereby to compaſs their wicked deſigns, of which we have ſeen too ſad effects. From this, and much more which might be materially added to this purpoſe, it will be evinced, that *Ariſtotle* had much of truth and reaſon in what he ſaid; but becauſe ſome were either cheats, or Hypochondriaque, that therefore all were, and among them the Sibylls, as *D. Blundel* would infer, I can no way be induced to believe, nor doth he produce any reaſon that they were ſo, whereas the very great time between the predictions, and the fulfilling of them ſufficiently evince, that they came from a higher cauſe then a melancholick heat: In which I have ever obſerved, that between the Propheſie and the time allotted for the adimpletion of it, ſeldom interceded more then a ſcore of years, ſometimes not ſo many moneths. Beſide we find, that as well the Sibylline Predictions as all other Oracles ceaſed at, or ſoon after the preaching of our Saviour, whereas melancholick diſtempers continue ſtill, which to me ſeems a ſtrong argument that they were different in their cauſe. Neither ought the authority of *Ariſtotle* too much to ſway us in this thing: I allow him to be one of the greateſt Maſters of reaſon that ever was, but

withal must remember, that being contemporary with *Plato*, and sometime his Scholar, but resolving to set up a new Philosophy different from that of his Master, would not comply with him in that particular in which he deemed him faulty: For it is observable, that as *Plato* often speaks of Sibylls Prophesies and Revelations, *Aristotle* mentions none, or very ambiguously, resolving to go a quite contrary way, not medling with any thing of which he was not able to give a probable reason. And all others of the Ancients who have denyed the truth of all Oracles or Predictions whatsoever, except natural, were still of the Sect of *Epicurus*, meer Atheists, and consequently bound by their Sect to believe nothing in this kind but what they conceived to be so: For which *Lucian* a profess'd Atheist doth commend *Democritus*, *Metrodorus*, and *Epicurus*, for their constant adhesion to their own opinion, though never so much contrary to reason and authority: His words are these, speaking of one *Alexander* a cheat, as it seems, and an Impostor, he tells you he did so strange things, That indeed the trick stood in need of some *Democritus*, nay of *Epicurus* himself, or *Metrodorus*, or some other that had an adamantine opinion toward that or things of the like nature, as not to believe them, and cast about which way it might be, which

Ὥστε πάνυ τὸ μηχάνημα ἐδεῖτο Δημοκρίτου τινὸς ἢ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐπικούρου, ἢ Μητροδώρου ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου ἀδαμαντίνην πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντος ὡς ἀπιστῆσαι καὶ ὅπερ ἦν εἰκάσαι καὶ εἰ μὴ εὑρεῖν τὸν τρόπον ἐδύναντο, ἐκεῖνο γοῦν προπεπεισμένου ὅτι λέληθεν αὐτὸν

which if they could no way find, they resolved to conclude it a lye, and impossible to be done, though the manner of the cheat was hid from them. Amongst them *Democritus* hath endeavoured to give a reason why all Divination may be natural, because, according to the opinion of the Stoick Philosophers, nothing did ever happen in the world but by an eternal concatenation of causes, which have such a dependance one upon another, that they render an aptitude in every thing to be foreseen in its causes, which being natural, Divination may be so too: And *Democritus* farther asserts, that out of all things that happened by natural causes, there proceed certain effluxes or emanations, not only in the things themselves when existent, but from their causes also; so that these causes being in any subject, may from the emanations proceeding from them give an aptitude to the subject to be disposed accordingly; and consequently, that the cause of Divination being in any man, the effluxes of it may render him a Diviner.

ὁ ῥόπος τῆς μαγγανείας τὸ δεῦν πᾶν ψευδὸς ἔστι καὶ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον Lucian. Pseudomantis. p. 481. Edit. Par. 1615.

This speculation I confess is subtile, and high, if there be any sence in it, fitter for the mouth of an Atheist then a Christian; for admitting such emanations or species may come out of material bodies, how they can proceed out of causes that are sometimes inexistent, till they produce the effect, sometimes immaterial, I understand not. Will

any man say that love, which is a passion, and immaterial now in any man, upon the sight of an Object to be beloved was in him causally either before his own existence, or the existence of the object; if there were such effluxes in that cause, why not in the cause of that cause, and so *in infinitum*. These subtile inventions to avoid manifest convictions of their own consciences clearly shew there were among them undeniable testimonies of such predictions, of which no true reason could be given, which put them so to their shifts; because they were indeed supernatural: Such I take the Predictions of the Sibylls to be, but whether any or all of them were indued with the Holy Spirit of God (as I have before said) remains to me questionable. This difference from them I observe to be in the true Prophets, that they were never during their Prophesie deprived of their wits or senses; if at any time they have been surprised with any consternation or astonishment upon the appearance of an Angel, or the like, they have been by the power of God soon restored to a temper fit to understand, and deliver the message intrusted to them: Nay they have been farther able to confirm by Miracle, that they were truly sent by God, when it stood with his glory to have it so, and the distrust of the people required it. Whereas these Sibylls are never reputed to have done any other Miracle save that of truly foretelling things to come. 'Tis made indeed the

mark

mark of a Prophet not sent by God, if the things foretold come not to pass; and this undoubtedly is true; but it follows not convertibly, that where ever things foretold come to pass, that person is sent by God, except meant permissively; for we know the Oracles of the Heathen Gods gave often true answers, suffered so to do indeed by God, but inspired by the Devil. We know farther, that these Sibylls were generally supposed in the delivery of their Oracles to be in a rapture and fury, that themselves understood not what they delivered, nor were able to make perfect what was imperfectly taken by the Writer: This we have upon the authority of *Virgil*, *Tully*, and others: Nay, that *Sibylla* commonly called *Erythrea*, saith she is ὀισφμανης surprised by a rapture or fury. The consideration of these things makes me prone enough to believe they had in their predictions δυναμιν ἐνθουσιαστικην a powerful inspiration, as *Justin Martyr* twice calls it in his Admonitory to the Gentiles, but not true Propheteſſes of God, & sanctified by his holy Spirit, at least not all, if any of them; yet do I very little doubt of their Antiquity, or suspect any great corruption to have happened to their Books, for the genuineness of which we have as much to say, as for most ancient Writings left amongst us, all or most of the things quoted out of them by any ancient Writer being now extant in those we have, and as they now are from ancient Copies transmitted to us. I know

Deut. 18. ult.

Virg. Æneï. 3. Cic. de Divin. li. 2. Ovid, Met. li. 14.

some go yet higher than I do, and conceive them true propheteſſes of God, as you may ſee in the beginning of this Diſcourſe, of which opinion St *Jerome* ſeems to be. *Collius* in a ſtreight it ſeems what to determine, goes a middle way, and ſaith their Oracles are of two ſorts, one that concerns Chriſt, his Birth, Worſhip, or the like, theſe he thinks proceeded from divine inſpiration; others which concerned Kingdoms, and their Idol worſhip, he believes came from the Devil. Such a mixture of God and the Devil in the ſame perſon may ſeem hard to ſome to believe, yet will not this conjecture ſeem altogether void of probability, when the caſe of *Balaam* is fully conſidered, who though he were a Magician and wicked perſon, yet for ought appears to the contrary, was guided in his propheſie by the Spirit of God, and yet not allways ſo in the counſel he gave to *Balak*, as you may read *Numbers* 22. and 23. Chapters. St *Auguſtine* in his Book of the City of God thinketh that ſhe that goes under the name of *Sibylla Erythrea* (whom ſome think to be *Sibylla Cumea*) was a Citizen of the City of God, becauſe ſhe hath nothing in all her verſes tending to Idolatry, but againſt the falſe Gods and their worſhip; mentions there the Acroſticks containing theſe words JESUS CHRIST SONNE OF GOD THE SAVIOUR; Which the Tranſlator of that Book having turned into our tongue, I have thought fit to tranſcribe

Jerom. lib. 1. adverſus Jovini. longe poſt medium.

Collius de Sibyll. c. 35. p. 226.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 9. c. 23.

ſcribe, for the Engliſh Readers ſake, who perhaps will not have the Book by him.

In ſign of doomeſ-day the whole earth ſhall ſweat;
Ever to reign a King in heavenly ſeat
Shall come to judge all fleſh; the faithful and
Unfaithful too before this God ſhall ſtand,
Seeing him high with Saints in times laſt end:

Corporeal ſhall he ſit, and thence extend
His doom on ſouls. The earth ſhall quite ly waſte,
Ruin'd oregrown with thorns; and men ſhall caſt
Idols away, and treaſure; ſearching fire
Shall burn the ground, and thence it ſhall inquire
Through Seas and Sky, and break hells blackeſt gate;

So ſhall free light ſalute the bleſſed ſtate
Of Saints; the guilty laſting flames ſhall burn;
No act ſo hid but thence to light ſhall turn,
Nor breaſt ſo cloſe, but God ſhall open wide;
Each where ſhall cries be heard, and noiſe beſide

Of gnaſhing teeth. The Sun ſhall from the ſky
Fly forth, and ſtars no more move orderly.

Great Heaven ſhall be diſſolv'd, the Moon depriv'd
Of all her light: Places at height ativ'd,
Depreſt, and Valleys raiſed to their ſeat.

There ſhall be nought to mortalls high or great:
Hills ſhall be levied with the plains; the Sea
Endure no burthen; and the earth as they

Shall perish, cleft with lightning; every Spring
And River burn: The fatal trump shall ring,
Unto the world from heaven a dismal blast,
Including plagues to come for ill deeds past.
Old *Chaos* through the cleft Mass shall be seen;
Unto this Bar shall all earths Kings convene,
Rivers of fire and brimstone flowing from heav'n.

These Verses and many others in the Sibylline Books, carry in them a great shew of plainness and sincerity; so that I could willingly subscribe to the opinion of St *Augustine*, *That some of them were Citizens of the City of God*, were I able to fix upon any person in particular, or to satisfie my self that any one of the Books, as they are now extant, were not a mixture of the Propheſies of different persons. She upon whom St *Augustine* pitches, to wit, the *Sibylla Erythræa*, if there were truly any one of that Country, which to my understanding the words do not necessarily import, after she had told you she left *Babylon* in *Assyria*, she hath these words, which I should chuse thus to render; Men call me according to the Græcian manner of another Country (to wit) of *Erythræa*, impudent, others the daughter of *Circe* and *Gnostus*. The interpunction of the words favour this construction; for if they were thus to be understood, Men call me born indeed at *Erythræ*, an impudent person, according

Καὶ καλέυσι βροτοὶ με καθ' Ἑλλάδα παῤῥίδ' ἄλλης,
Ἐξ Ἐρυθρῆς γεγαῶτα, ἀναιδέα, οἱ δὲ με Κίρκης
Μῆτρός τ' Γνωσσίου παῤῥὸς φήσουσι Σίβυλλαν, &c.
Sib. Or. l. 3. p. 283.

according to the Grecian manner of another Country: There ought to have been a distinction at the first μὲν, to shew us that Καθ' Ἑλλάδα πατρίδα & ἄλλης, ought to be read in a parenthesis, that the reference might truly be made; beside the Article ὅς in the second verse will be impertinent, and no Country at all from whence she came is named. This I have inserted here, because I had in the preceding Discourse so rendred the words, without giving any reason; and I find some conclude out of this place, that one of the Sibylls acknowledges her self born at *Erythrea*; Moreover that *Sibylla Erythrea* or *Cumæa*, upon whom St *Augustine* pitches, was certainly that person whose books were kept in, and burnt with the Capitol, and from which the *Romans* fetch'd out all their superstitious follies; besides, she seems by *Virgil* to be possessed in the delivery of her Propheſies with that kind of madneſs and fury usually observed in the delivery of Oracles by *Apolla*; for which reasons, of all others of them, I should think *Sibylla Cumæa*, if the same with *Erythrea*, the most unlikely to be of the City of God, which is more likely to be true of her that came out of *Babylon*, and foretold she should be counted of *Erythrea*. Under so great an uncertainty therefore and variety of opinions, I think it safest to suspend my own judgment, and agree in this conclusion, That whether all or any of them were immediately guided by God, or what other spirit they

Lact. l. 1. de falſa Relig. pa. 37. —— *Niſi Erythreæ quæ & nomen ſuum vetuſtum carmini inſeruit, & Erythream ſe nominatam iri prælocuta eſt cum eſſet orta Babylonia.*

spake

spake by, yet were they by his power so overruled, that where in his wisedom he thought fit, they could not lye; so that the truth they delivered was indeed his, though the spirit by which they spake came not from him. However this is clear, such persons there were, such predictions they left, which in their due time were accomplished, which was all I designed to prove in this discourse.

Thus Sir, have I gone through my intended disquisition of the Sibylls, and in it have I hope made it appear, That the Arguments produced against them are not of that value to take from them the authority they have been allowed by the testimonies of *Justin Martyr*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Theophilus Antiochensis*, *Lactantius*, who as *Temporarius* saith, was a Priest of the Capitol before his conversion, and so permitted to read these Books, and many others of the Ancients, with innumerable latter Writers, amongst whom I cannot forget two very learned Prelates of our own Church, *Richard Montacute* sometimes Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, who hath a particular Excercitation in the defence of them; and *Lancelot Andrews* late Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, who hath these words speaking of the truth of Christianity; For the credit of the History it self, we know that the Sibylls Oracles were in so great credit amongst the Heathen, that they were generally believed. Now if they be true, wch we have of them, as there's no question but many of them

Tempor. Chron. An. mun. 610.

them are,(divers of which we refer to Christ, being mentioned in their own writers, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, and others) it will follow, that nothing can make more in their esteem for the credit and truth of the Nativity, Life, and Death of Christ, than their Oracles; for we may see almost every circumstance in them. And by reading these Verses divers of their Learned men were converted to Christianity, as *Marcellinus*, *Secundanus*, and others.

Andrews *Pa. of Catechist. Doct. Introduct. c. 12. Sect. 3.*

If after all this there remain yet some that had rather believe *D. Blundel*, and some others but of yesterday, I shall only add, That the thing in controversie is not of faith; and that for the truth and certainty of our Christian Religion, we have in the undeniable Word of God a more stable and un-erring Testimony.

FINIS.